Jennings Perry writes in Guardian starting next week

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

6 full pages of news and pictures in this issue

NATIONAL
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the progressive newsweekly

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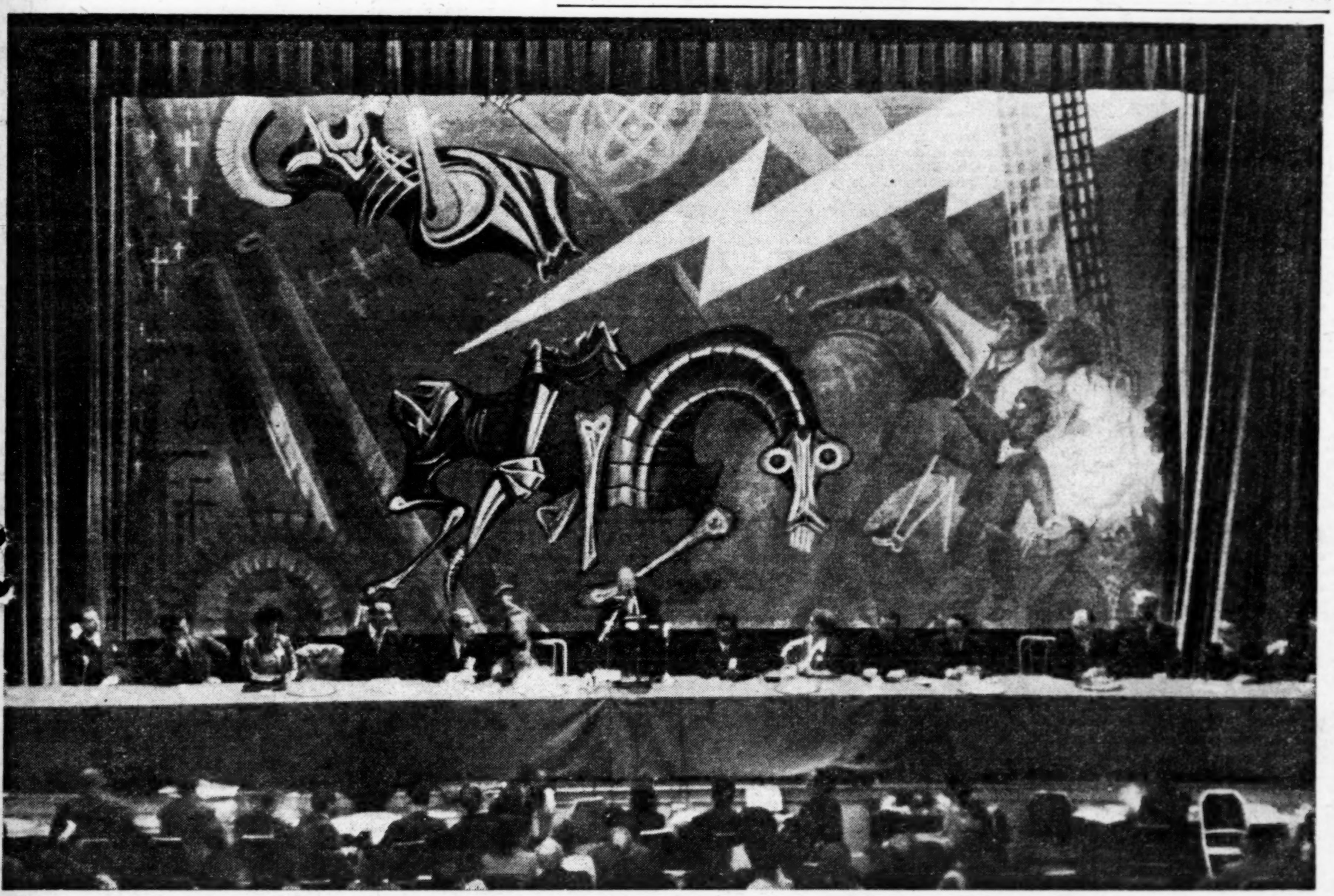

The scene at the Peace Conference plenary. The backdrop is by William Gropper.

Farewell to America

By Jiri Hronek

Jiri Hronek, secretary general of the International Organization of Journalists and chief of the Czechoslovak Government Information Services, was a Czech delegate to the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.

ON Tuesday evening a polite young man knocked on my door in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York.

"I am from the Immigration Office," he said.

He handed me a letter in which the Acting District Director of the New York District of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Mr. Shaughnessy, informed me no less politely that my mission here (attendance at the Peace Conference) was accomplished. Mr. Shaughnessy would be happy, he said, to know what arrangements I had made to depart.

I was told by a member of the U.S. Mission to the UN that I might be allowed to stay on to attend a UN conference. But Mr. Shaughnessy announced on Wednesday that if the Peace Conference delegates did not leave within a few days, it would be necessary to "take steps" to have them leave.

UNHAPPY THOUGHT. When we are fighting bureaucracy in my country—and we are doing a great deal of this—we sometimes think that there must be countries where there is none of it. Now we must discard this happy thought as far as America is concerned.

It seems that somehow your State Dept. could not make up its mind what to do with all these people who wanted to come here and testify the desire of their peoples for peace and international cooperation. First we were told the visa was valid for a week; then they told us here that it wasn't. Later, according to the papers, the Dept. said our visas were neither geographically nor otherwise restricted—in other words, we could go to New Jersey and beyond. Then came the ban on all further meetings, and the polite young man at my door.

Is there anything they want to conceal in the United States? Is there anything they don't want us to see? And would I be wrong that it is the overwhelming desire of millions of Americans to have peace?

SO MUCH TO DO. On that unforgettable Sunday evening in Madison Sq. Garden I said that we in Czechoslovakia admire not only the great names of American history—Lincoln, Jefferson, Roosevelt and Paine—but that we also greatly like and admire the American people and their achievements. And that we intently follow the great peace movement in the U. S., which is one of our hopes. We strive for peace and hate the very idea of war, because we know only too well what war means.

Of course I am not sorry to go home, for there is so much to do there. But I am sorry that I shall not be able to deliver that message of peace to thousands of Americans everywhere.

THE GOOD AMERICANS. For although the press wasn't very polite to us, ("Throw the bums out," said one paper which I don't even want to name); although there was picketing; and although at the end we were—politely, it is true—thrown out of the country, we are taking back with us a favorable impression. We know there are many good Americans who are not blinded by the propaganda and hate of which we have had so many proofs in the papers.

And one of the hopeful memories I am taking home with me is that of a middle-aged American woman who came to me after that memorable evening in Madison Sq. Garden, and said she wanted to shake hands with Czechoslovakia.

I was touched and proud when we shook hands. We then spoke for a little while; she showed me pictures of her children and grand-children, and finally she wrote a few lines in my notebook.

She wrote: "May this great conference bring everlasting peace to all mankind."

Simple words, it is true. But are not all great ideas simple?

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THE MAILBAG

On A. L. Strong

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

Your policy in regard to Anna Louise Strong is excellent. I can think of no praise equal to your fine support of Miss Strong herself, and your calm, logical, and courageous statement of policy.

And if Miss Strong sees this I should like to say that no one has come through a trial with greater honesty and courage than she.

I myself went through a somewhat similar trial once, though on nowhere near so painful a scale as hers. I refer to our own Communist Party members in this country, than whom none are greater or stronger fighters for progress. Some day the world will recognize the truly great debt it owes all the hard-fighting Communists who have ever lived; but they do have faults, and for all their discussion, somehow they refuse to recognize some of these faults and try to get rid of them. The basis of this, of course, is fear of one kind or another, for which, indeed, they have good reason.

But they are so good one can only wish they could be a little better. Perhaps under all the conditions it is impossible for them to be a little better. I don't know; I have never had a chance to discuss this thoroughly—and, as Miss Strong says, a person should not try to make important decisions alone.

Still, from where I sit here, without the benefit of discussion, it seems to me that the most courageous thing the Communists could do would be to embrace Miss Strong and do everything possible to help her.

Al Amery

We Don't Do It Often

In our last issue (March 28), the point of Marcelle Htschmann's article on the Mediterranean Pact now being discussed was blunted by a serious typographical error.

The article as published quoted Egyptian Premier Ahmed Maher Pasha as saying in 1944: "The policy of friendship which Egypt intends to pursue shall not be limited with the two great nations of the eastern Mediterranean . . . Greece and Turkey."

The correct quote: "The policy of friendship . . . shall not be limited to the Arab countries Egypt will simultaneously seek a rapprochement with the two great nations of the eastern Mediterranean which throughout history were linked by many ties to the Nile Valley: Greece and Turkey."

•

E. HARTFORD, CONN.

I notice that the GUARDIAN is opening its columns to Miss Strong. The difference of opinion permitted in the GUARDIAN is a most beautiful and typically American procedure. But can the GUARDIAN afford to clasp the poisonous asp to her bosom?

Recall Eve's experience at being tempted by a serpent.

Donald Wiley

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Just read your article on Miss Strong—good of you not to let her down.

George Korff

•

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

On the weekend of the Cultural Conference for World Peace the unity of progressives was tested. GUARDIAN might have done more for that unity were it not bedeviled out of its sense of proportion by the case of Anna Louise Strong. GUARDIAN's page 3 was given over to an article by Miss Strong; GUARDIAN's lead editorial was devoted to the case.

On the same week-end I read the first installment in the series by Miss Strong in the **New York Herald Tribune**. It appeared on page 1. The editors titled it "Jailed in Moscow" and attached a precis under the heading, "The Police State." The paper spoke of the series as one of "the most damning documentations of the processes of the Soviet police state which has become available in this country. It is damning because it is authentic, and it is authentic because its author is a convinced Soviet sympathizer."

I, and GUARDIAN too, I feel, regard those who wage the cold war as the enemy. And I submit that any one who knowingly hands a gun to the enemy and is then surprised that they use it, is either astonishingly naive or else no friend of peace.

Certainly Miss Strong has a story to tell, though it is not among the most burning issues of our time. GUARDIAN might have been the place to tell it; I am sure it would not have wielded it against the peace.

The **Herald Tribune** assumes that the Soviet Union was wrong; GUARDIAN indicates that possibility. Certainly the errors of the Soviet should not be glossed over. To my mind the Soviet Union is a state ruled by the working class. If it errs, it errs in the efficiency of that rule. In other states not mistakes but calculated policies are brought to bear against the working class. The two cannot be equated. The differences in kind must be emphasized if the whole story is to be told.

I do not know whether Miss Strong is guilty or innocent of espionage (though I confess I was much more willing to believe in her innocence before she lent herself to the purposes of the **Herald Tribune**). But I do know that it would be madness to let the question divide progressives.

Robert Rogerson

•

Stereotype?

JAMAICA, N.Y.

The article, The Cotton Patch, in the March 14 issue evidently intended to point up the oppression of the Negro people, but because of the Negro stereotype portrayed by the author, this intention was completely negated.

The article definitely produces the 'poor simpleton' stereotype which is a vicious and slanderous portrayal of the Negro people.

One might argue that the article refers to a 'poor white' for in one paragraph it says 'us poor whites and blacks.' These are not the days, however, for any equivocation and therefore a manifestation that feeds stereotyping must be resolutely fought.

For a bigger and better GUARDIAN, I remain

Morty Scheer

Last week in New York, Claude Williams, head of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, said of Owen Whitfield, who writes The Cotton Patch: "I know no man who speaks more authentically the language of his people." Mr. Scheer's objection may stem from a lack of familiarity with the colloquialisms of some sections of the South. Ed.

•

Victims of AMA

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The March 21 GUARDIAN story of diphtheria outbreak had a special and deep significance. For here was an instance where a minority profession was only too willing to show up the local arm of the American Medical Assn.

In the attempt to dominate and rule the healing profession the AMA has waged a ruthless and blackhanded campaign. Chiropractors, the second largest healing profession in the country, and osteopaths are the main victims of these unscrupulous attacks.

The oppressed professions are only too eager to join with other forces that seek to expose the AMA or destroy such evil ambitions. So in the future, when the AMA stands in the way of progress, allies may be easily found to aid in its defeat.

Frank L. Berch, D.C.

Enter Jennings Perry— a GUARDIAN exclusive

STARTING next week, Jennings Perry, noted southern liberal editor and author, will join the list of writers appearing exclusively in the columns of NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

A newspaperman who has crusaded consistently for his ideals, Jennings Perry was editor of the Nashville **Tennesseean** for 12 years. He founded and led the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax; and has published, among other books, one called **Democracy Begins at Home,** analyzing the U. S. election system.

In 1946 Jennings Perry joined the roster of columnists of the N. Y. newspaper **PM** (later the **Star**). In 1948, when the **Star** announced its support of Harry S. Truman for president, Perry declared his support of Henry Wallace and stuck to his guns throughout the campaign. His daily column became a "must" for progressives everywhere.

Perry's crisp, down-to-earth comments on world affairs will prove a new treat for GUARDIAN readers not already familiar with his writings. If you are a former **PM-Star** reader, you need no further introduction. But if you want to do a good turn for your friends and neighbors who used to swear by Perry in **PM,** let them know that they can read him now, every week, in NATIONAL GUARDIAN, beginning with our next issue.

Swell that groundswell

FOR the past few weeks, this space has toyed lightly but meaningfully with the timely topic of Pyramid Clubs in connection with the GUARDIAN circulation.

It was all in fun, and—we believe—all in an excellent cause.

This week we leave the pyramids behind to turn dead serious about the GUARDIAN and the world around us.

Across this world, people everywhere are mobilizing for peace. The momentous Conference for World Peace to which most of this issue is devoted is significant of the mighty groundswell growing among the American people for world understanding and the Century of Peace for which Henry Wallace has fought so unceasingly.

IT IS the supreme task of all of us—here and now—to help this groundswell grow That is why the GUARDIAN is in business.

Will you help?

Here is what you can do:

As you think of people who should be in this fight with us, write their names and addresses in the spaces below. Call them, write them, see them. Ask them if you may subscribe to the GUARDIAN for them—$4 for a full year, $1 for a 13-week trial subscription.

You need send no money. We will bill each new subscriber individually if preferred. If you want to enter gift subscriptions, we will bill you.

P.S.—NATIONAL GUARDIAN has a special commission plan for clubs and organizations devoted to peace. If you want your group to receive 25% commissions on GUARDIAN subscriptions entered by you, write the name and address of the group in the space provided below and commissions will be remitted upon receipt of payment.

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The bridge building is on

By Cedric Belfrage

THERE is new pride and new heart in the progressives of America as a result of last week-end's Peace Conference, organized by the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

This week we solemnly remember Spain as the place where our long struggle against fascism began. We look more hopefully and determinedly than ever to the United Nations as the instrument of future victory. Nothing else, outside of our regular news round-ups, can take precedence in this issue of the GUARDIAN over the Conference for Peace.

THE conference was not only organized and carried through with an efficiency that sets new standards for progressives. It was a brilliant success against the combined efforts of every great power in the land—starting with the State Dept., the Catholic hierarchy, the Governor of the state, the Mayor of the city and almost the entire press—to bring it down in an avalanche of hysteria.

There was virtually official provocation to violence against the participants. It failed completely.

The attempt to show that it was nothing but a convocation of Moscow henchmen failed: so much so that even the "New York Times" took the word "peace" out of quotes for one glamorous 24-hour period, in reporting the conference.

Everyone knew there were many Communists present. They were listened to with the same respect as anyone else. It was equally obvious that hundreds of speakers and delegates were not Communists.

It was an American Communist, Richard O. Boyer, who told delegates: "A man's own conscience is the final court of appeal. There is no excuse from the hard and painful duty of thinking for oneself."

WHAT the conference did was to start building the bridge that is so desperately needed—the bridge of confidence and of cooperation on the specific issue of peace between Communists and other progressives.

Not everyone has been convinced that the Soviet Union deserves all the praise its own delegates gave it. But all have seen with their own eyes the iron curtain that hangs over our own borders.

The delegates from eastern Europe have seen it too. But they have seen something else: that the search for truth and understanding, the determination to stand up for our own rights and those of every other people, remains surprisingly and vigorously alive in America.

They return home knowing we have not forgotten that—as Agnes Smedley said for us: "If 25,000,000 eastern Europeans and millions of Asiatics had not died, many of us would not be sitting here now."

THE spirit of the conference was the spirit in which the United Nations was founded and should be operating. Where the will to peace was plain on both sides, each side saw the need to compromise.

Compromise starts from an area of agreement; as it grows in action, the area of agreement grows with it. We have begun to build the bridge. With new faith let us complete the work.

The parley, the press and the people

By James Aronson

MY daughter Mary is seven and like all the children on this earth, firmly devoted to the cause of peace. She knew about the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace; within the range of her understanding I had explained it to her.

She knew about the pickets too. She saw them in front of Carnegie Hall on her way to see "Little Red Riding Hood" that Saturday afternoon. They disturbed her; she saw the hatred in their faces. When I came home from the conference on Saturday night, she said:

"Were there more people inside the hall than outside?"

"Yes," I said. "Many more."

"Good," she said. "Then the people inside will win."

WHO WAS THERE. That's how just about all the people at the conference felt: at the dinner for the guests at the Waldorf Astoria on Friday night; at the keynote session in Carnegie Hall on Saturday morning; at the magnificent Madison Sq. Garden rally attended by 20,000 on Sunday night.

Twenty-one states were represented; 83 colleges and technical institutions. More than 8,000 attended the nine panel sessions. And perhaps most impressive of all were the empty chairs reserved for the foreign guests whom the State Dept. had excluded.

At least $20,000 had to be refused or refunded for lack of space in the jam-packed panel sessions and at the opening dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria ballroom. Outside the hotel as the dinner began, instead of the thousands of pickets that the press had predicted, the line held a few score — mostly members of the Catholic War Veterans, tireless sandwich sign carriers with a pet peeve, and members of nationality groups whose war records consisted mostly of exhortations to Hitler to overrun the Soviet Union.

"UNSWERVING DEVOTION." Inside the enthusiasm was high. The only dissonant chord to the theme of brotherhood was the speech of Norman Cousins, editor of the **Saturday Review of Literature.**

Having declined a previous invitation to the conference, Mr. Cousins had reconsidered on the urging of Assistant Secretary of State George V. Allen, who told him the department "would welcome presentation ...of the U. S. Government's unswerving devotion to freedom of expression."

In his speech Mr. Cousins told the delegates that the "hostility" with which the conference had been met was the "inevitable reaction to the auspices under which" it was being held. The audience was was cool and unimpressed; there was some hissing.

LET'S TALK PEACE. Throughout the conference there was repeated rejection of the "single guilt" theory for the threat to the peace. Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard, conference chairman, said that Russia and the United States "are so obsessed by pointing out each other's shortcomings that they ignore their own."

At Carnegie Hall T. O. Thackrey, publisher of the **New York Post Home News,** called for a meeting between President Truman and Premier Stalin to find a means for returning international disputes to the UN, "not for debate, but for settlement."

O. John Rogge, civil liberties lawyer and former Asst. U. S. Attorney General, said: "I believe that this conference should call for a united front of all peace-minded people, regardless of political party, who will unite in a gigantic effort to stop this nation's drive toward war."

THE PRESS STORY. What came out in the press was another story. The **New York Sun,** apparently chagrined because the conference was not "pure Moscow propaganda" as the press predicted, decided to go the whole hog the other way. It banner-headlined on Saturday: SHAPLEY ARRAIGNS RUSSIA.

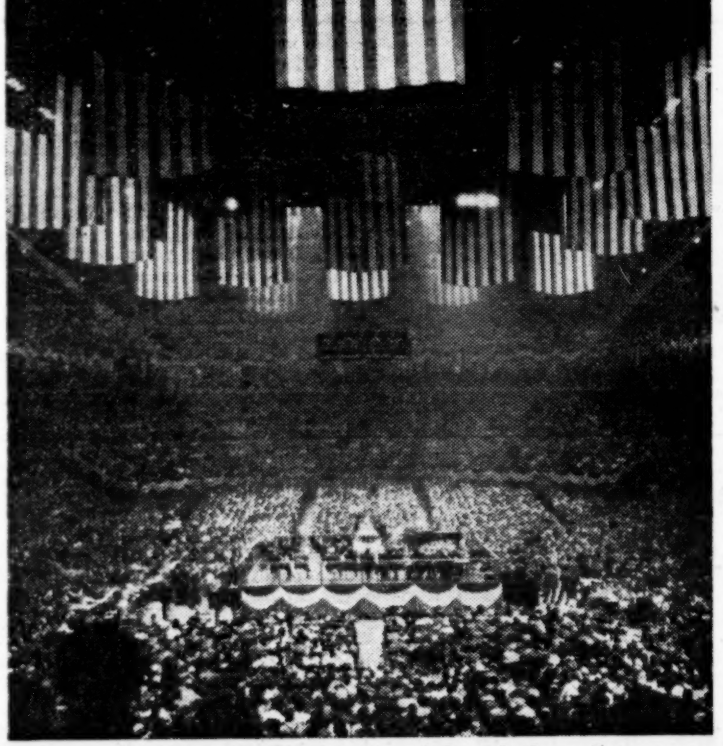
From the delegates' press conference to the Garden rally, the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press led a well-trained ink-stained wolf pack. Their reporters were alert for signs of disruption; at the slightest hint of it they pricked up their ears and were off to the trouble area.

The press conference was thinned considerably when word came that a wealthy woman had been murdered in a Park Av. apartment across from the Waldorf. At the Garden, the Hearst reporter directed his cameramen to take closeup pictures of people in the audience — an obvious attempt at intimidation.

FREEDOM PRESERVED. One spectator objected, tried to grasp the camera. Detectives and police descended and hustled the objector off to the station house—along with a doctor who tried to intervene. The objector got ten days, the doctor was fined $25; the cameraman was held up as a disciple of freedom of the press.

Under the headline: 30 REDS MOB NEWSMEN, Hearst's **Journal-American** said: "Inflamed by anti-American speeches made by Soviet delegates and other foreign Reds. . . . about 30 yelling men leaped upon photographers. . . ." The **Boston Herald,** over a perfectly sane account of the same evening's events, had this headline: 18,000 FIGHT PICKETS; CHEER BLASTS AT U. S.

The charitable Hearst **New York Mirror** said editorially of the foreign guests: "Throw the bums out." The Scripps-Howard **World-Telegram** said "Fooey" on culture. The **Herald Tribune** gave first place on Sunday to the hastily assembled "rival" conference of Americans for Intellectual Freedom — a conference at which high-income deserters from the left wing view vied with deserters from Russia in heaping invective on the U. S. S. R.



Madison Sq. Garden the night of the rally

CREDIT THE TIMES. A most notable exception in the press coverage was the **New York Times,** which reported the conference fully and honestly. The **Times** staff at the conference was headed by Richard Parke, Charles Grutzner and Ira H. Freeman.

A sampling of papers across the country showed full and fair AP stories in the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Star** and **Atlanta Constitution,** among others.

The hysteria in most of the New York press seemed to be a dead giveaway to the fact that the publishers knew the conference had brought out the overwhelming desire for peace that has so little place for expression in America. The **Wall Street Journal,** remarking that "no harm was done except by that picket line," said:

"Newspapers gave the proceedings display and space usually reserved for news of the greatest importance and significance; the conference got publicity that must have been beyond its wildest hopes."

A LITTLE COURTESY. The **Boston Herald,** outside the precincts of the page one scare headlines, also criticized the picket line and added: "An entirely courteous reception would have been a better advertisement for free America." The State Department, it said, had "created the worst possible public relations."

Throughout the conference, main target for the photographers was the boyish, serious, sensitive face of Mr. Shostakovich. They surrounded him in every conference hall and on every platform. Mostly he ignored them. His eyes played constantly on the audience and on the speakers; his fingers drummed on his knee, as though he were tapping out a musical theme.

GREAT TRIBUTE. The demonstration at Madison Sq. Garden, the most enthusiastic in the memory of the oldest (and more honest) reporters, reached a peak with Shostakovich's playing of the second movement of his Fifth Symphony. The applause and cheers split the rafters—not so much in tribute to a musician playing on a ricketty piano while flashlight bulbs blinded him; but to the symbol of the highest manifestation of cultural achievement and exchange.

There were lighter sides. Dr. Shapley, who won everyone with his charm, cautioned the audience at one point: "We've got to be careful, you know. We're being classified as part of a 'peace offensive' by those who regard peace as offensive."

Bishop Moulton, at the keynote session, said he had come out of Utah on a train called "Liberty Limited." Harassed by the photographers' flash bulbs, he finally turned his venerable head to them and said: "Shoot if you must, this old grey head. . . ."

STRANGE SCENE. There was the bizarre. The crowd at the plenary session at the Waldorf on Sunday was so great that the Fire Dept. closed the ballroom doors, leaving hundreds reluctantly standing on the wide staircase. They didn't want to go home; they didn't believe the firemen. Jack Gilford, a really funny funnyman, was there. He was carried to the head of the stairs and gave an impromptu show.

Several women pickets meanwhile had wandered in from the street. They kneeled on the stairs telling their beads and praying for the souls of the transgressors at the conference. The patient overflow crowd was caught between comedy and incantation.

When the crowd came out from the final meeting at Madison Sq. Garden, only a few howling pickets remained on duty. Across the street, patroling all by herself, was a woman with a sign of which only she could interpret the significance: CASKET MAKERS, UNITE!

Visa denied

Theirs were the empty chairs

FROM all the conference delegates who could not attend because visas and passports were denied them came eloquent messages.

Paul Eluard, French poet and Resistance leader, wrote:

"The world today has to choose between dawn and horror. . . . I swear it, and I ask you to swear with me, that a heart is just only if it beats in unison with other hearts. Let us vow that justice is of this world, for it is the desire of men on earth. Evil everywhere must make way for Good. Let us struggle!"

"HORRIBLE NIGHTMARE." From India came a letter explaining why Gopal Halder, editor, was not present. "Mr. Halder applied for a passport . . . but to our great disappointment the West Bengal government has once again clapped him into prison without any charge or trial. No one knows when or if ever he will be able to come back to us. May the day come soon when this horrible nightmare will come to its inevitable end."

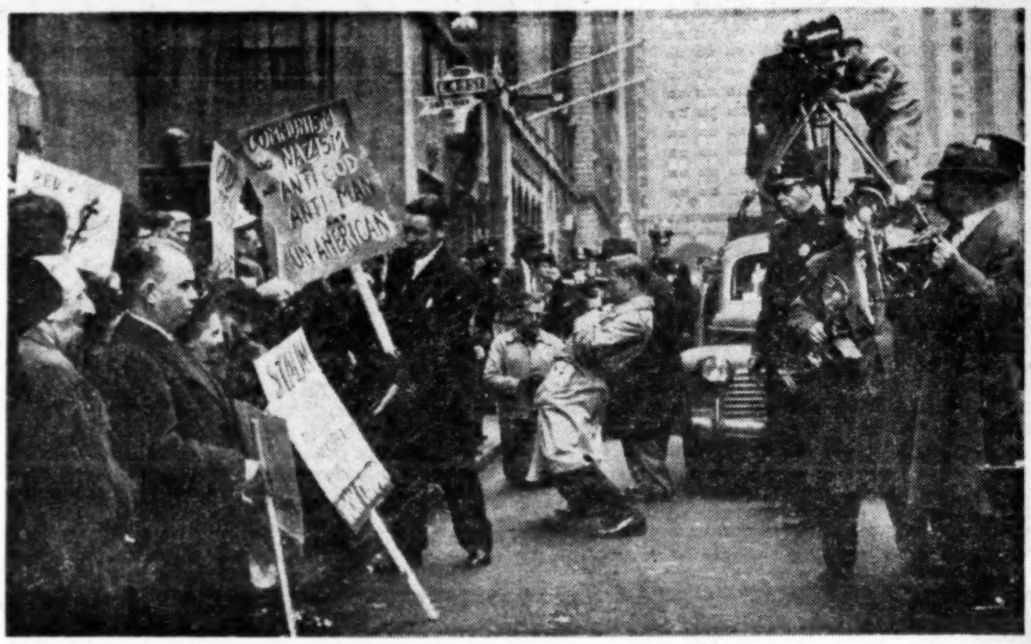
Five of Hungary's most distinguished intellectual leaders, whom the U.S. found "inadmissible," wrote: "Recent events clearly reveal that the Mindszenty case in Hungary was distorted into international propaganda as a psychological preparation for the Atlantic pact and along with it, the intensification of the concept of a new war.

"Our Hungarian delegation, had it been able to be with you, could have presented the true facts. . . . We believe we are not mistaken when we say that this was the real reason why we were refused visas. . . ."

A BRAVE PRIEST. Jean Boulier, French priest, professor of international law and consultant to the special UN Commission on the Rights of Man, wrote: "As a Catholic priest struggling against atheistic materialism, I should have wanted to affirm the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of different ideologies in this narrowed world. . . . The monstrous idea of an atomic bomb crusade must be absolutely defeated. To refuse me the right of speaking these truths, is this not an indication of a will for aggression and intolerance under the cloak of words claiming religious freedom and the defense of peace? May the Congress rally all men of good will."

Recorded messages from the banned British delegates, J. D. Bernal, Patricia Burke, J. G. Crowther and Louis Golding, were delivered as a dramatic climax to the Plenary Session of the conference.

The composer meets the critic: (L. to R.) Olin Downes, music critic of the New York Times; Dmitri Shostakovich, and Aaron Copland



"Kneel, God damn it! Look holy!" Those were the photographers' orders. The journalistic wolfpack at work on the pickets outside the conference really had a field day.

Messages from the world's great

"TO hell with war!" cabled Irish playwright Sean O'Casey—one of scores of intellectuals throughout the world who, though no U.S. Iron Curtain was banged in their faces, wanted to come but couldn't.

"It came from there," O'Casey went on, "and there we will hunt it back; and fix an everlasting iron curtain between its madness and the kind common sense of mankind. . . . May the banner of peace raised in New York spread its folds until they cover America as with a great cloak, and, extending out, flap in the face of the world. I am with your conference, if not in body, then surely in the full soul and spirit of my being."

INTERFERENCE. Thomas Mann, one of the great authors of the world, sent "congratulations on heartening success in face of all difficulties." Angered at the State Dept.'s denial of visas to invited guests, he suggested a resolution "protesting the Department's interference with the Peace Conference." Such interference, he said, could only "breed terrible suspicions as to the actual aims of this country's foreign policy."

Arnold Zweig, author, cabled his hopes for peace from "the Berlin destroyed through the war."

IMPRESSIVE LIST. Others who cabled messages of support were George Bernard Shaw; J. B. Priestley, British author; Dame Sybil Thorndyke, distinguished actress; Sir John Boyd Orr, former Director-General of UN's Food and Agricultural Organization; Frederic Joliot-Curie, France's leading atomic scientist; Moshe Sneh, member of the parliament of Israel; Jawarharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India; Michael Redgrave, British actor; Pablo Casals, world renowned cellist; Martin Anderson-Nexo, dean of Danish writers; Diego Rivera, Mexican artist; P. M. S. Blackett, British atomic scientist.

The undesirable Abbe

By Stanley Karnow
PARIS

AT a press conference for the three French intellectuals who were to have attended the Conference for Peace, Madame Eugenie Cotton, leading educator, said that U.S. authorities refused visas on the ground that she and the poet Paul Eluard and the priest Abbe Boulier "threaten to overthrow the U.S. government by force."

Abbe Boulier said that, after filling out his visa application, he was asked if he had signed the peace declaration at last year's Intellectuals' Congress of Wroclaw.

"Yes," Boulier answered.

HE DIDN'T KNOW. "Did you know it was directed against the United States?" asked the immigration officer.

"No," the Abbe said, "it is against war."

"Are you a member of 'France-U.S.S.R.'?" (This is the French equivalent to the Council of American-Soviet Friendship.)

"Yes."

"Did you know it was a Communist organization?"

"It is a cultural organization, not a Communist organization," answered the priest.

The Embassy questioner ended the interrogation there and said: "All right, we'll make our decision here and telephone you."

The telephone message three days later was to tell the Abbe that he was "undesirable."

'The wisest man in the world' flunked out

By Konni Zilliacus, M.P.
LONDON

BRITISH public opinion was shocked by the brusque withdrawal of the visas of three British delegates, due to fly next day to attend the New York Conference on World Peace.

"So this," people are saying, "is what the U.S.A. means by its 'determination to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.' This is its 'contribution toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening free institutions.'" (Preamble and Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty)

CONSULAR GEOGRAPHY. Mr. J. G. Crowther, who is an economist and a writer, has never belonged to any party nor taken part in any political activities. He might be described as a non-party liberal who rather strongly prefers peace to war. He was summoned to the U. S. Consulate and asked:

"Were you at the Wroclaw Conference in Russia?"

He replied: "I was at the Wroclaw Congress, but Wroclaw is in Poland. not the U. S. S. R., you know."

"Oh, is that right? Well, anyway, I'm afraid I have to cancel your visa."

TOO MUCH WISDOM? The same thing happened to Louis Golding, author of the best-seller **Magnolia Street** and non-political, and to Prof. Bernal, who is what might be described as a philosophical communist from way back, but the kind that believes in salvation by faith, not by works. Meanwhile he is one of our most distinguished physicists, and was during the war one of the Government's chief "back-room boys" on scientific defense. Professor Julian Huxley once called him "the wisest man in the world."

The fourth delegate to be axed was Miss Patricia Burke, a young actress.

I met her the other day at a party. She told me she did not want to have anything to do with politics. She just wanted to work for peace. I tried to explain that working for peace is the highest form of political activity, but I couldn't make her see it. Now I guess the State Dept. has done the job of teaching the young lady the facts of public life.

PEACE, IT'S HORRIBLE. The State Department's motives in canceling the visas of British, Italian and French delegations while allowing eastern European delegations to come are clear to all. The whole thing had to be misrepresented as a Communist stunt against the West.

In particular, it would never do to have a Catholic priest (Abbe Boulier of France) testify to the French people's dismay at America's war offensive. As for Patricia Burke, she is dangerously sincere and easy on the eyes.

If Jesus Christ were alive today to bid us seek peace and ensure it, the State Dept. would write him off as the author of just another Iron Curtain peace offensive.

SMOTHER THIS VOICE. The truth is that a vast body of opinion in western Europe, which contemplates with horror violent social revolution (or capitalist counter-revolution) and the evils of the police state (from right or left), is convinced that present Anglo-American policy would produce these very evils on its way to an unnecessary and almost inconceivably savage war.

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More conference reports pages 9, 10, 1

WORLD ROUNDUP

The old man

ARMED guards of the U. S. Secret Service, agents of Scotland Yard and the U. S. State Department tripped over each other in the corridors of a train bound for Boston last Thursday. In a special car with curtains drawn rode Winston Churchill.

In Boston the 74-year-old warhorse and his retinue were whisked off to a 26-room suite at the Ritz-Carlton. He summoned a doctor who examined his throat and pronounced it fit for speechmaking. The examination was routine.

That evening in Boston Garden, Dr. John Ely Burchard, Dean of Humanities at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, predicted the "early conquest of space," "large-scale biological controls" and the "ability to control man's thoughts with precision." He said: "Any of these is more awesome in its implications than was the mushroom cloud in 1945."

When the Dean of Humanities had finished, a telegram was read from President Truman. The President regretted he could not come, and added: "Mr. Churchill, I am sure, will give you something historical for this period."

THE KHAN DIED. Mr. Churchill then rose to offer "something historical."

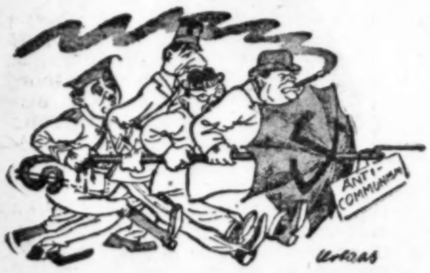
His speech was leisurely. There were long, slow passages. It was hard to say where it got to in the end. While en route through rolling hills of oratory, he remarked: "I know more about the past than I do about the future."

Of the past he said: "Four or five hundred years ago Europe seemed about to be conquered by the Mongols. . . . But at the critical moment something happened—the Great Khan died. . . . They never returned — till now."

Not now

Of war: "It is certain that Europe would have been communized and London under bombardment some time ago but for the deterrent of the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States. . . . War is not inevitable. . . . I do not think myself that violent or precipitate action should be taken now."

Of Russia: "The failure to strangle Bolshevism at its birth . . . lies heavy on us today. . . . We are now confronted with something quite as wicked but in some ways more formidable than Hitler. . . . These 13 men in the Kremlin have their hierarchy and a church of Communist adepts, whose missionaries are in every country as a fifth column, awaiting the day when they hope to be absolute masters of their fellow-countrymen. . . . They have their anti-God religion."



Tvorba, Prague

The New Axis

DON'T BE BEASTLY. . . . Of Germany: "Americans, like the pre-war Germans, have . . . created institutions for the advance training of large numbers of high-grade engineers." (He did not say pre-which war.) ". . . I trust that small and needless provocations of German sentiment may be avoided by the Western Powers. The revival and union of Europe cannot be achieved without the earnest and freely given aid of the German people."

(Churchill once called the same German people "barbarous Huns." The "Mongols" were among his allies then. In June, 1940, he spoke of the "dull brute mass of the ordinary German army and German people, always so ready to be led to trampling down in other lands the liberation and comforts which they have never known in their own.")

Outside the Boston Garden pickets chanted: "Send that bundle back to Britain."

Clan rally

COUNT SFORZA, the dignified, white-haired, white-bearded Foreign Minister of Italy, spent much of last week chatting with Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He had come to sign the Atlantic Pact on April 4, but while he had the secretaries at his elbow the talk turned to the former Italian colonies.

The secretaries told him that the U. S. favored parceling out some to Italy, some to Britain, some to Ethiopia. The colonials were not on hand for the talks. France's Foreign Minister Robert Schuman huddled with the secretaries privately.

CONTENTS NOTED. While the diplomats took their turns with Secretary Acheson a sternly worded memorandum came from Russia to the seven governments expected to sign on Monday. The memo charged that the Atlantic Treaty violated the UN charter, Anglo-Soviet treaty, the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It was "openly aggressive and directed against the Soviet Union," the note claimed.

It quoted Article 53 of the UN Charter which says, "No enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council." The Atlantic Treaty provides for measures taken under it to be reported to the Council after they have been taken.

The memo also wondered what region was meant in describing the Pact as a "regional agreement."

Receipt of the memo was noted. Plans went ahead.

Bevin: 1920-1949

Meanwhile other diplomats were arriving for the ceremonial signing. On Thursday the Queen Mary tied up in New York. Picket lines of the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism paraded in front of the pier.

Their placards of greeting to Britain's Foreign Secretary read: "Bevin's anti-semitism, Britain's shame."

The Foreign Secretary reminisced: "I used to picket people, myself."

Ernie Bevin probably thought back to the spring and summer of 1920 when he led great demonstrations throughout England to stop the war of intervention against the young Soviet state. Those were the days when his dockers' union stopped the sailing of the Jolly George loaded with arms for what Konni Zilliacus has called "Churchill's private war."

Concerning the purpose of his visit, Bevin said the Pact should "prevent war for many generations to come." It sounded like the "Peace in our time" once proclaimed by a fellow with an umbrella.

As Bevin drove off from the pier tomatoes and eggs flew toward him but missed.

Also on the Queen Mary and ready to sign were Foreign Ministers Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, Dirk U. Stikker of the Netherlands, and Joseph Bech of Luxembourg.

"GRIM GROM." A passenger who was not to sign was Andrei A. Gromyko, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister. He had come to attend the sessions of the UN Assembly opening on April 5. Again and again ship reporters charged the sober young diplomat and each time bounced back. They asked whether he and Bevin had conferred. Gromyko, known for his dry humor, said softly: 'My opposite number and I had a very smooth trip."

Photographers asked him to smile. He said: "I could, but it would be artificial."

The Captain of the Queen Mary said he had planned to have Gromyko up to his cabin for cocktails, but then "a fog set in."

BARNSTORMERS. Other visitors, of a different sort, were in the offing. These were to come in response to an invitation from Henry Wallace to join him in a cross-country barnstorm for world peace. They were: H. Lester Hutchinson, Labor Party member of Parliament, who like other forthright leftists has ben denied endorsement by the Party executive; Pierre Cot, former Air Minister of France and until recently an independent member of the French Chamber of Deputies; and Michele Giua, left Socialist member of the Italian Senate, and one of Italy's leading chemists. The tour of mass rallies will run from April 27 to May 16.

Wallace said these men "are earnestly seeking the facts so that they can help remove the barriers to peace. That is why they have asked me to appeal for letters expressing these problems. They will discuss the questions raised in American letters at every point of the tour."

WAITING. Nowhere among the arrivals, and almost without hope, was Friedel Bilotta, wife of an ex-GI. Jim Bilotta rescued her from a Nazi concentration camp two and a half years ago and ever since has tried to get an immigration visa for her. A little over a month ago word came that Friedel was ill with loneliness and worry. Doctors urged Jim to go to her. He flew to London, married Friedel and made plans to bring her home.

Last week GUARDIAN learned the State Department had declared Friedel "an alien whose entry is deemed prejudicial to the interests of the U. S."

Elections in France

THE French elections were shrouded in statistics. So complex was the local electoral system that, according to Lansing Warren of the **New York Times**, the final tallies permitted nearly every party to make allegations of gains."

Gen. Charles de Gaulle's movement emerged as the most powerful single group, but it fell so far short of his predictions that to many it seemed a defeat. The Communists captured about 23% of the total vote but lost 147 of the seats they held in 1945.

The Socialists lost heavily, the Radicals lost a little; the Popular Republican Movement stayed the same. But the government, which is composed of these three parties, claimed a great victory.

Part of the confusion arose out of the system of tallying which, despite the multiplicity of French parties, does not allow for proportional representation. One-third of the electorate stayed home.

What emerged from the tally sheets and the varied proclamations of victory was this: the government would probably not feel impelled to call new elections before constitutionally required to do so in 1951; it would have to reach out from dead center to embrace the right—probably no great strain.

GEOGRAPHY. Gen. de Gaulle took care to differentiate his program from

Continued on following page

Max Werner

Dilemmas muddle Germany's role in the cold war

IT IS not chance that the new crisis in Western Germany has coincided with the preparation of the Atlantic Pact. For the moment the relations between the West German political leadership and the U. S.-British-French occupation authorities are almost at the breaking point. The conflict over the competence of a West German government has revealed the conspicuous instability of this West German state.

For the German leaders, the anticipated signing of the Atlantic Pact was a promise and a signal for pressure. Since capitulation they have been waiting for the hour that would reestablish the coalitions. They figure: If Italy can become an ally of the Western Powers, why not Western Germany too? Why not push for a U. S.-British-German Big Three in the West?

CRISIS IS INCURABLE. Yet with all this bold pretension, the tottering base of West Germany has not been taken into account. Her economic recovery during the last nine months has been overemphasized here. This specious production upsurge overglossed a deep and incurable crisis.

West Germany has been artificially reshaped to a kind of a continental West European Britain — without British shipping, Empire resources, markets, and a smoothly running export machine. The West German export today amounts only to one-tenth of the British. Nobody knows who will pay for German food and raw materials.

The question is not merely the operation of additional German steel mills, but to let German export function. But Britain will not tolerate German competition. Western Europe has too narrow and too fragile an economic structure for two super-industrialized great powers, both deficient in food and raw materials and both striving for markets. **The British-German economic split is at hand.**

THE OLD CONFLICT. The French-German split is even broader and deeper. France today cannot tolerate an increase in West German industrial and political power. A 14,000,000-ton German steel production recommended by Americans is a nightmare to Paris. Now, as in the twenties, France and West Germany are being ruled by two conservative teams. They cannot produce anything but nationalist frictions and suspicions. French nationalism is intensely anti-German, and vice versa.

The West German demand for a government with real power as such is perfectly sound and reasonably realistic. But this demand cannot be carried out on a truncated base. And the shaky structure already has been overburdened by political designs which it cannot bear. As a bulwark against Russia, as a magnet for Eastern Germany, as a cornerstone of Western Europe, this Western Germany must be a catastrophic failure —since she has neither the resources nor the endurance to be a partner in a big international gamble.

To live, West Germany must be kept out of the cold war. Used in a cold war, she can only increase political chaos. At tremendous expense and risk, we are experimenting on a crippled Germany.

This may be described as a complicated experiment, since our diplomats cannot at the same time favor the West German adventurers—and ask them to lie low and do nothing.

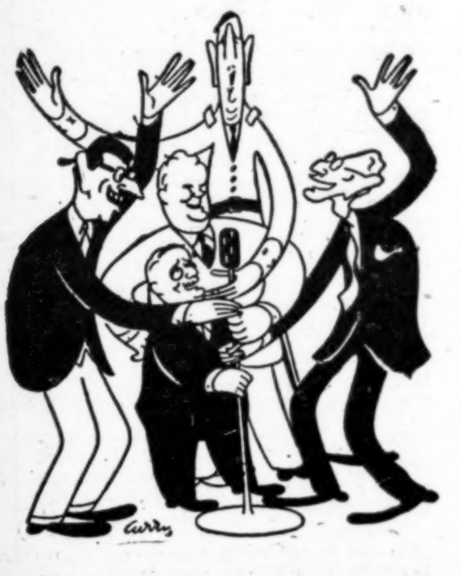
WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

the rest of the right and center. He called a press conference in Paris. In his dark blue suit, his white shirt and stiff collar he looked like a long lean admiral, uncomfortable in mufti.

He hit the sure-fire note of keeping the ancient enemy, Germany, disunited. He was careful to endorse the Atlantic Pact and most of the work of the U. S. State Department, but he thought that France, not Britain, must be the center of western Europe's military picture.

France should get the lion's share of the "defense," he thought. The present state of things was "historically, geographically and strategically wrong"; England was not the center of Europe; France was.



Franc Tireur, Paris

"I am very satisfied with the success scored by my party."

Shift in Syria

SHORTLY before dawn on Wednesday the President of Syria, Shukri al-Kuwatly, and Premier Khalid el-Azem were quietly removed to an Army hospital in the suburbs of Damascus. Patrols took up their stations at street intersections, artillery posts sprang up on the outskirts.

By the time most Damascus residents awoke, their government had changed. They were told to keep vehicles off the streets; in the center of town there was a curfew.

General Husni Zayim was in control. He was conferring with a little 70-year-old man with snowy hair and moustache who had been Premier once, had guided the Arabs in UN Security Council sessions and now would hold the power again. He was Faris Bey el-Khouri.

Throughout the long debates on Palestine Faris el-Khouri was the most vigorous anti-Zionist. He once said: "Palestine is like a patient with a dagger in his side. We must remove the dagger." For him, he left no doubt, the dagger was the Jew.

But that was before Israel's victory. And Faris el-Khouri is known to be flexible. First indications were that, regardless of the excited nationalism of the old man and the army, the armistice talks with Israel would continue.

THE REASON? General Zayim said the coup was to stamp out corruption. There certainly had been corruption, but few thought the military had been moved by it.

The defeat at the hands of Israel seemed insufficient reason. But two events, seemingly inconsequential, had a bearing: (1) Nuri es Said Pasha, always pro-British, had recently returned to the premiership of Iraq; (2) Two weeks ago the British head of the powerful Iraqi Petroleum Co. had been expelled from Syria. His offense: sponsorship of a meeting between influential Syrians and Glubb Pasha, the British commander of the army of Trans-Jordan.

In the Vacuum

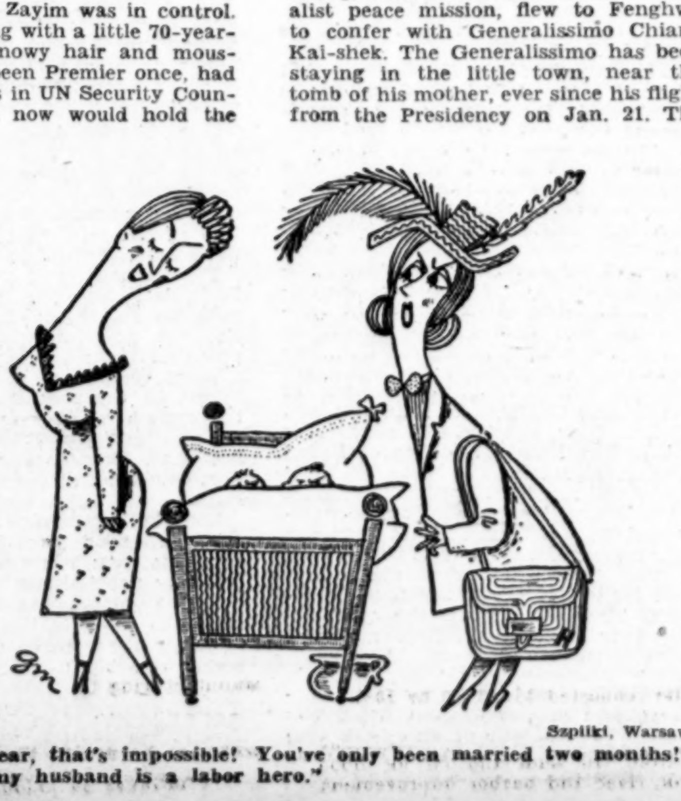
The government that had tossed out the powerful British oil man was anti-British. Its successor would be likely to be pro-British.

Another explanation was found in the vacuum left by the disintegration of the Arab League. A new system of Arab alliances was called for and the British would support such a move as a counterbalance to victorious Israel.

These were conjectures. What did the coup really mean? Faris el-Khoury, when asked a similar question, gave this answer: "A man came to a barber and asked, 'Is my hair black or grey?' and the barber said, 'I will cut your hair. The hair will fall before your eyes and you will see.' "

World briefs

- In Heidelberg a man was found whose clothing was half-American, half German; he carried Italian eye glasses and a British fountain pen; he spoke only French and Spanish. According to press reports he was suspected of being a German who, by a psychological twist, had forgotten his mother tongue.
- Marshal Vassily D. Sokolovsky was relieved of his duties as Soviet commander in Germany and made First Deputy Minister of the Armed Forces. Gen. Vassily I. Chuikov took his place in Berlin.
- On Tuesday Gen. Chang Chih-chung, head of the seven-man Nationalist peace mission, flew to Fenghwa to confer with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The Generalissimo has been staying in the little town, near the tomb of his mother, ever since his flight from the Presidency on Jan. 21. The Generalissimo had retired from office but not from politics. In that unreal field he is still a power. On Friday Gen. Chang and his six companions settled down at the swank Wagons-Lits in Peiping to confer at last with the Communists.
- The lower house of the Japanese Diet last week voted to set up a "Special Examination Committee" to specially examine strikes, protests and communist movements. Premier Shigeru Yoshida announced that he was thinking of a cabinet-directed "Un-Japanese Activities Committee" to supplement the special examinations. (Turks have an UN-Turkish Activities Committee; an Un-Philippine Activities Committee has been proposed.)
- A horse named Russian Hero galloped away with the Grand National. He was a 66 to 1 shot and the London **Daily Worker's** horseflesh expert picked him. A year ago he suppressed an ideological hunch and failed to pick Commissar, a 33-1 shot that came in first.



Szpilki, Warsaw

"Sophie, dear, that's impossible! You've only been married two months!"
"Ah, but my husband is a labor hero."

Unfinished business as t

By Marcelle Hitschmann

THE press has been so busy describing the advantages of the Atlantic Pact that a significant speech by United Nations Secretary General Trygve Lie, on March 15 to the students of the University of Maine, got small coverage.

"The United Nations," he said, "could not prevent the conflict and has not yet been able to do much about settling it. . . . [Yet it] provides a meeting ground, virtually the only one left, where East and West can . . . submit themselves to the judgment and the power of world opinion on the justice of their causes.

"I fail to understand the suggestion that public discussion of the issues . . . is either responsible for the perpetuation of the dispute or . . . is useless. In my opinion the contrary is the case."

MORNING AFTER. The UN General Assembly meets again this week at Lake Success—on the day after the signing of the Atlantic Pact.

Leftovers from the Paris session include: (1) the question of limiting use of the veto in the Security Council; (2) the treatment of Indians in South Africa (brought up by India); (3) Soviet refusal of permission to its woman citizens to live abroad with foreign husbands; (4) disposal of Italian colonies; (5) Franco Spain.

Back in April, 1946, the General Assembly requested the Security Council to keep Spain out of international UN groups and recommend recall of diplomatic representatives from Madrid. At present, as a consequence of the Atlantic Pact, some Western nations would support the admission of Franco Spain to the UN, but dare not propose it themselves. Bolivia is expected to make the official move.

Both Britain and Italy want trusteeship over the old Italian colonies; Ethiopia objects; the Arabs press for total independence, and the U.S. favors distribution among Ethiopia, Italy and Britain. What all these powers do not want is an international trusteeship with U.S.S.R. participation.

NEW QUESTIONS. Australia and Bolivia want Bulgaria and Hungary examined in connection with the trials of religious leaders.

Another important issue is Lie's proposal for a 1,000-man UN guard force, equipped with sidearms only. Following Lie's proposal, T. O. Thackrey, editor and publisher of the **N.Y. Post Home News,** submitted a plan for a big volunteer army, navy and air force to strengthen the UN. Reactions at Lake Success were mixed, but the idea stirred the imagination of the non-striped-pants people.

Just before the Assembly opening, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council wound up their sessions. The Economic and Social Council began a study of a program for underdeveloped areas and examined the achievements of the specialized agencies.

ASSORTED SPLITS. In the Economic and Social Council there were nasty exchanges between delegates of Eastern and Western Europe; in the Trusteeship Council the split was not between East and West, but between administering powers of Trust Territories (Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, Britain and U.S.) and non-administering powers (China, U.S.S.R., Costa Rica, Iraq, Mexico, Philippines.)

The latter group worked harmoniously together and tried to

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NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Wall Street shivers

FIFTY economic advisers to the nation's top businessmen gathered quietly in Washington. The doors of the conference room opened briefly. One of them stepped out, mopped the sweat from his brow and said, "We're looking for an optimist."

Then the doors closed again. In the conference room were Ralph Robey of

the National Association of Manufacturers, Emerson P. Schmidt of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Robert W. Burgess of Western Electric, Edwin B. George of Dun and Bradstreet, Henry B. Arthur of Swift and Co., Bradford B. Smith of U.S. Steel and Donald B. Woodward of Mutual Life Insurance Co.

An official of the group, the "Conference of Business Economists," said: "The boys range from the left—not too far left, of course—to the hard-shell conservatives on the right."

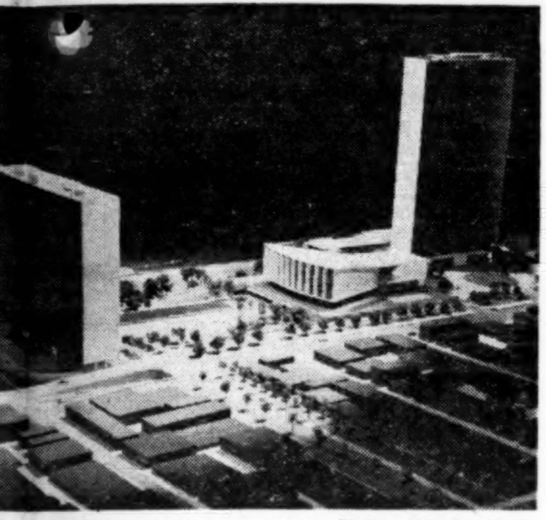
BOO! None of the conferees would allow specific quotes to be attributed to him directly. The **Wall Street Journal** printed these comments without the sources.

"We've scared each other a little bit."

"Recession? We're in one now. The one thing we would like to know and what we have been talking about is how much of a recession?"

"All of us, not just a few, expect business profits to be lower generally; it makes no difference what business we're in. There's real apprehension."

the UN Assembly opens



United Nations photo

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Australia, president of this year's Assembly, and Juan Bramuglia of Argentina.

The countries of the neutral bloc, refusing to be dragged into an East-West conflict, pressed for a friendly solution of the Berlin currency problem and for an atomic energy control. They appealed to the great powers to settle their differences, and in general surprised the U.S., which expected them to support the "cold war" policy.

The Soviets, realizing that their rigidity was becoming unpopular, softened their attitude. They protested and denounced, but also came up with compromise proposals on vital questions like atomic energy control and reduction by one-third of world armaments. They often abstained instead of voting against many questions they objected to, both in the Security Council and the Social and Economic Council at Lake Success.

While they developed this trend, the West used "Soviet inflexibility" as justification for drifting away from the UN and busying itself with conclusion of the Atlantic Pact. One very recent case proved who was inflexible. When the Berlin currency question was dealt with by a special UN commission, it was the West that finally rejected the proposals while the Soviet intended to pursue negotiations.

PEOPLES' RESPONSIBILITY. A serious problem plaguing the UN is that, in our era of instantaneous communications, each delegate must report immediately to his government and gets his instructions, usually the same day by cable.

There is no time, as in the past, for these diplomats to try to compromise among themselves and to put before their governments the accomplished fact. From Argentina to Yugoslavia, they are not merely servants, but little more than messengers of their governments, which of course plan policy in isolation.

Thus, only pressure of the peoples at home can force governments to change their policies and learn how to cooperate within the United Nations.

The Peace Conference held in New York last week resolved "to do everything to strengthen the United Nations as the best hope for peace . . . and to undertake an active campaign in that cause."

Whether inside or outside such conferences, peace today has become the responsibility of every citizen of the world—now that death, thanks to the atomic bomb, has been at last translated into every language.

Optimist, retired

Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, was more cheerful. He told the economists that he had found "not too great a fear" among businessmen around the country.

On Wednesday afternoon word came that Nourse had resigned his post.

For a long time Nourse had been known to disapprove the Administration's anti-inflation program. The assembled economists certainly disapproved of it. The **Wall Street Journal** reported: "They're leery of the government's public housing schemes."

BIG AND LITTLE. They were less leery of government aid to Wall Street brokers. On Tuesday men of the Street delightedly heard that the Federal Reserve Board was about to reduce from 75% to 50% the cash payment required to buy stocks. The men of the Street, sensing a fresh breeze to sweep away the doldrums, bought vigorously. The little man who lacked cash waited with tongue out all that day while the prices rose. On Wednesday the new order went into effect and the little man, getting not so good a deal as the big man, cheerfully hopped the wagon and went for the ride.

Where the ride might end was the guess of anybody on or off the Street. It was certainly true that the action of the government had been a shot-in-the-arm to big business.

The needle

It was an experienced hand that wielded the needle. In 1946 the lifting of price control had stimulated business; in 1947 it was the Truman doctrine with its government purchases for Greek and Turkish arms; in 1948 it was the program of rearmament for U.S. and Western Europe. According to the ancient principle, the stimulants were being applied in ever larger dosage to retain the same exhilaration.

SMALL BEER. Marriner E. Eccles, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, appeared on television screens to tell family groups that they had been living in a recession for many months.

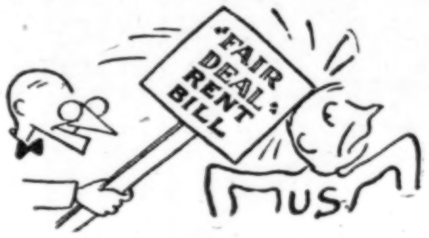
He thought it not unwholesome. "I am sure the American public in its good sense did not expect the boom of the last three or four years to go on indefinitely." He itemized symptoms of recession, then summed up: "A lot of people have been priced out now."

Others were priced in. In the springtime air of Manhattan a bartender hung out an antique sign saying: "5 cent beer." Large brewers withdrew their beer, but smaller companies let him have the stuff and he prospered.

Horse-fly test

PRESIDENT TRUMAN not only signed the 81st Congress' rent control legislation; he called it "a crushing defeat for the real estate lobby."

You can't fool a horsefly. The National Association of Real Estate Boards said: "The new act is a positive decontrol measure in the intent of Congress. For the first time we have a system for ending controls."



The system is simple: any incorporated municipality can hold public hearings, after 10 days' notice, and adopt a resolution asserting that a rental housing shortage no longer exists requiring continued rent control. If the governor of the state approves the resolution, controls are ended.

In addition, any region, or whole states, may be decontrolled by state legislatures.

Rent increases are also made possible: landlords are assured "a fair net operating income."

Loopholes

With these wide open loopholes, the new law extends controls for 15 months; gives the Housing Expediter authority to devise regulations covering evictions; permits him to recontrol units which he himself has decontrolled; and allows him to sue landlords for triple damages in cases of overcharges.

Congress adopted the measure two days before controls would have expired. In the Senate the vote was 78 to 11; in the House it was 263 to 143.

Only one Congressman, whose prophecies about the Fair Deal seemed to be coming true one by one, cried a warning. Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) predicted "wholesale evictions" if rents go up. He said his party will encourage New York tenants to "refuse to abide" by any increases granted under the new measure; he promised free lawyers to tenants needing legal assistance.

PENSIONS. In the House Rep. John E. Rankin, the day after one veterans' pension bill was killed, bounced back with another. But this was a mild measure: confined to World War I vets, it would grant $72 a month to men reaching 65 who were in need.

Most first world war vets get a pension of that amount under existing regulations. Little opposition was expected.

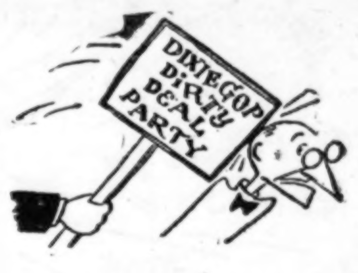
Rep. Marcantonio introduced a more meaningful bill to extend unemployment compensation under the GI Bill of Rights for two years (present benefits expire July 25). Payments would be increased from $20 a week to $35; members of the Merchant Marine would be included, and the vets who have exhausted their allowances (more than 1,000,000) would become eligible again for the new benefits.

The axe

In both houses Congressmen were swinging the economy axe.

In the Senate the axe was leveled at the European Recovery Program. Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio) and Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) sponsored an amendment that would cut the requested $5,580,000 by 10%.

The House axe slashed 15% from the Interior Department's appropriation, 23% from the sum allotted for flood control, river and harbor improvement.



NOT EVEN GHOSTS. The slash dimmed prospects for the President's proposed $4,000,000,000 tax increase. Sen. Walter George (D-Ga.) warned that such a boost might touch off a "sizable depression" and drive U.S. capital to Canada.

And it looked like the President's anti-inflation legislation was dead without a fight. An unnamed Congressional leader was quoted:

"We decided that there was no longer a ghost of a chance that Congress would approve such measures in the face of the many current signs of deflation."

Square dance

IN the enormous center court of the Pentagon Building on Monday, the Marine band played the Star Spangled Banner. A crowd of 10,000 persons had gathered. When the band stopped playing, Louis A. Johnson stepped forward to take the oath of office as Secretary of Defense. Chief Justice Vinson administered it. The outgoing secretary Forrestal stood by.

Johnson said: "We want peace if we can humanly get it with honor and freedom. But if there is aggression, we are calmly confident that we can stop it."

On Tuesday the new Secretary announced he would "expedite" the program to unify control of all the armed services. It meant that all "policy making groups" of the Army, Navy or Air Force would be moved to the Pentagon at once, so as to be within buzzer call of the Secretary. It was an impressive demonstration of the firm hand on the reins, but the move was to cost between $400,000 and $450,000.

While the Secretary settled at his desk, Ferdinand Eberstadt of the Hoover commission on reorganization of the government told the Senate Armed Services Committee that countries with a single supreme military chief "have always been on the losing side" in modern war.

Beware

To the President came Greeks bearing gifts. Twelve Evzones (Honor Guard on loan from the Greek Royal Palace) called at the White House to offer the President a pottery vase dating back to the 6th century B.C., a school album from the isle of Makronisos, a slab from the Temple of Wingless Victory and a rug made by school children. It seemed to the Evzones somehow fitting to do all this on the 128th anniversary of Greek independence from the Turks.

Smooth justice

On the judicial side of the capital the Supreme Court agreed to review the case of Harold R. Christoffel. In March, 1947, Christoffel was the president of a United Automobile Workers' local, locked in a protracted strike with the Milwaukee plant of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.

The House Labor Committee summoned him to Washington. In a heated exchange he denied that he had ever

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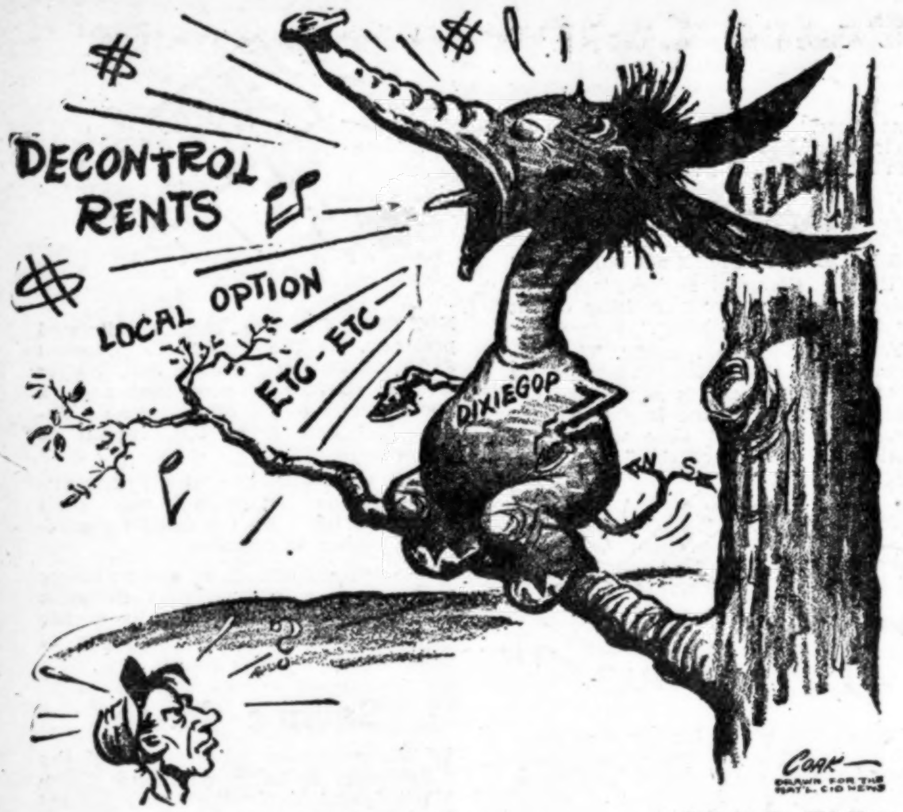


Cork in the CIO News

The first robbin' of spring

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

been a Communist. Later a Federal Court found him guilty of giving false testimony and sentenced him to prison for from two to six years.

EISLER. On the same day the justices heard the pleas of Abraham J. Isserman, attorney for Gerhard Eisler. Eisler, a German Communist, has been trying to leave this country since the day he arrived here en route to Mexico eight years ago. He has been prevented from leaving on many grounds, chief among them the curious one that he must be held for deportation. In 1947 he was sentenced to a year in jail and fined $1,000 for contempt of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Many others have been charged with contempt of the House Committee. Whether or not they go to prison will depend in large measure on the way the High Court decides Eisler's appeal.

Attorney Isserman, who is ordinarily busy in New York's Foley Square defending the 11 U.S. Communists on trial there, argued that Congress cannot constitutionally label any ideas un-American and then proceed to test individuals by such criteria.

Eisler had sat quietly in the rear of the court while his appeal was argued. The hearing over, reporters asked him what he thought of it all. Eisler said: "I'll judge them after they judge me."

ALABAMA. The busy justices turned from the U.S. Constitution to Alabama's and found the recently passed Boswell amendment unconstitutional. Alabama legislators, faced with the prospect of increasing numbers of Negroes among the voters, amended their constitution to require prospective voters to "understand and explain" the U.S. Constitution to the satisfaction of registrars. Registrars in Alabama are white.

In January a Federal Court ruled that the amendment was designed to keep Negroes from the polls. Last week the High Court upheld the ruling.

During the election campaign Sen. Glen Taylor (D-Idaho), Vice Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, journeyed to Birmingham, Ala., to speak at a Negro youth rally. He tried to enter through a door marked "Negro." Police rushed him, threw him down and jailed him for disorderly conduct. A city court fined him $50 and gave him a suspended sentence of 180 days in jail.

Last week he brought his appeal to the Circuit Court in Birmingham. About 150 persons crowded into the Jefferson County Courthouse, Negroes on one side, whites on the other. When asked if they would be prejudiced against Sen. Taylor because of his views on racial equality, the jurymen, all white, were silent.

On Thursday the jury brought in a verdict of guilty, but this time declined to suspend the 180-day sentence. The Senator said he was "very pleased." Earlier he had promised to "make Birmingham eat jimcrow." He announced an appeal to the Alabama Court of Appeals, posted bond and caught a plane to Washington to get back on the job.

Expert on stand

ALL week long Louis F. Budenz sat in the witness chair in the crowded Federal courtroom in New York's Foley Square where 11 Communist leaders are on trial. Budenz has testified before many Congressional committees and grand juries since he resigned his post as managing editor of the **Daily Worker** three years ago, left the Communist Party and rejoined the Catholic Church.

The prosecutor, F. G. McGohey, read lengthily from the classics of Marxism; detailed the bloodshed of the Russian revolution and turned to Budenz for interpretation. His interpretation was always that the U.S. Communists planned violent overthrow and bloody revolution.

The defense objected that books were being put on trial and that these books described events of other years in other countries. Judge Harold R. Medina replied that the defendants might have used books to overthrow the government by force and violence. The defense said "conspiracy to overthrow" was not the charge. They insisted that the judge read the indictment again. It said: "conspiracy to advocate the overthrow."

Nettled, the judge turned to the jury: "I charge you now that no books are on trial here, only these defendants are on trial, who seem to be enjoying these procedures so much . . . I see them smiling, sneering and snickering there, and the jury undoubtedly sees them as well."

Cross-examination

Throughout the early part of the week witness Budenz, when he was not offering testimony, clasped his hands prayerfully and gazed at the ceiling. On Thursday afternoon he had to face the defense squarely. The cross-questioning began.

On the tables of the defense lawyers were bound copies of the **Daily Worker** when it was edited by Budenz. Attorney Richard Gladstein asked the witness: "Did you in any article you ever wrote for the Worker ever advocate overthrow of the government of the U.S. by force and violence?"

Budenz: "Not specifically."

Gladstein: "While you were managing editor did that paper ever carry any story by anybody advocating overthrow of the government by violence?"

Budenz: "No, except by use of the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Gladstein asked Budenz if any one had ever written such advocacy in the paper. Prosecutor McGohey objected. The Judge said: "Objection sustained."

Labor vs. labor

IN Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers met-in convention. Before them was the order of the CIO executive board bidding them to dissolve themselves into the right-wing United Automobile Workers. In recent months UAW has rammed the board's decision home with raids on FE locals and fights at plant gates.

The convention rejected the order to merge. If the marriage was to be consummated, FE would have to be taken by force. The next move was up to the CIO.

Nominated once again for president was Grant W. Oakes, who has headed the union for the last 11 years. At mention of his name the 400 delegates thumped pop bottles on their tables, hoisted placards and snake danced. They carried him shoulder high around the hall, cheered, waved banners and shouted for 15 minutes, then declared him reelected by acclamation.

T-H day

FE proposed a nationwide work "holiday" to force repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, still on the books after 3 months of the Fair Deal.

Local 16 of the United Office and Professional Workers had sent a similar proposal to top CIO officials. In Washington CIO vice-presidents met. A spokesman said the proposal was not discussed. Then he added: "This would indicate the attention it is being given by the CIO." The vice-presidents told told reporters they were unhappy about the repealer's delay but still optimistic.

ONLY CHANCE. The United Electrical and Radio Workers was also impatient with the lobbying methods of CIO. UE proposed a national conference on wages, and concluded:

"The only chance to rescue the legislative situation from continued collapse is the full mobilization of the American peopleto express now to the Congress their demands for progressive legislation."

John L.'s hackies

The miners were back in the pits, but in the early hours of Friday morning New York's cab drivers, effectively if illogically organized into the United Mine Workers' catch-all District 50, went on strike.

Chief demands were union recognition, a closed shop and more pay. Cab fares are among the few items that have not risen since the war. Cabbies' share of the take has stayed correspondingly low. Taxi companies banked on Taft-Hartley, which forbids the closed shop and requires that NLRB certification can go only to unions whose leaders have signed the non-communist oath.

John L. Lewis, one of labor's most conspicuous non-communists, has refused to sign.

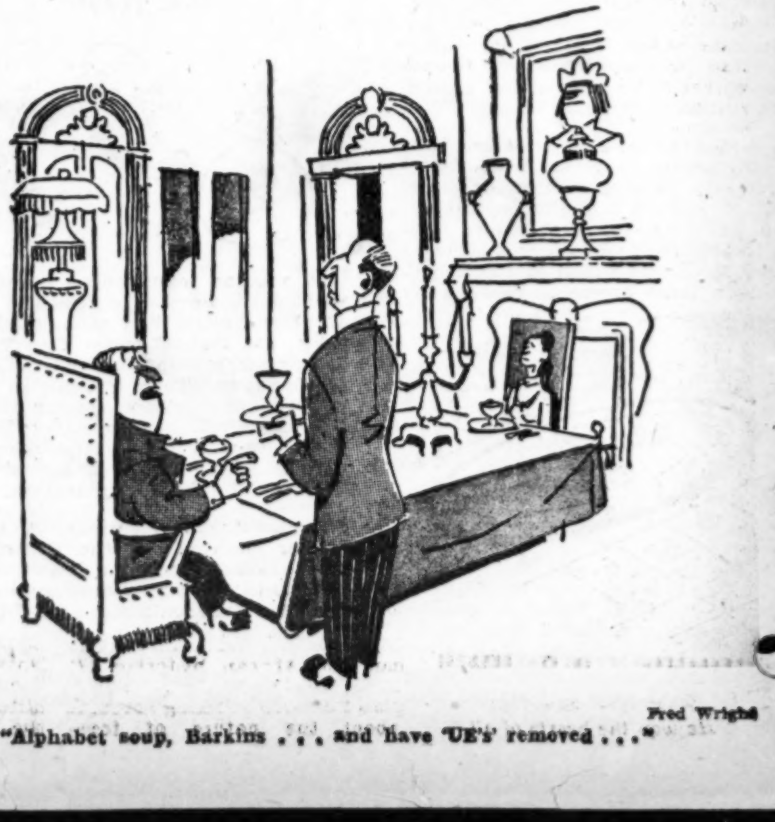
As the strike broke Mayor O'Dwyer alerted police for "gravest emergency" duty and armed them with nightsticks. The press bristled with due predictions. The **Times** headline said police were on a "war basis." Hackies were cheered by news that Philadelphia taxi men had just won most of their demands after a 73-day strike.

Labor Briefs

- In London last week leaders of CIO, the British Trades Union Congress and the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions jointly declared: "There is no longer a world federation." The World Federation of Trade Unions survived the declaration with 60,000,000 members.

CIO, AFL and TUC representatives announced a meeting for April 27 in Washington to plan a new international.

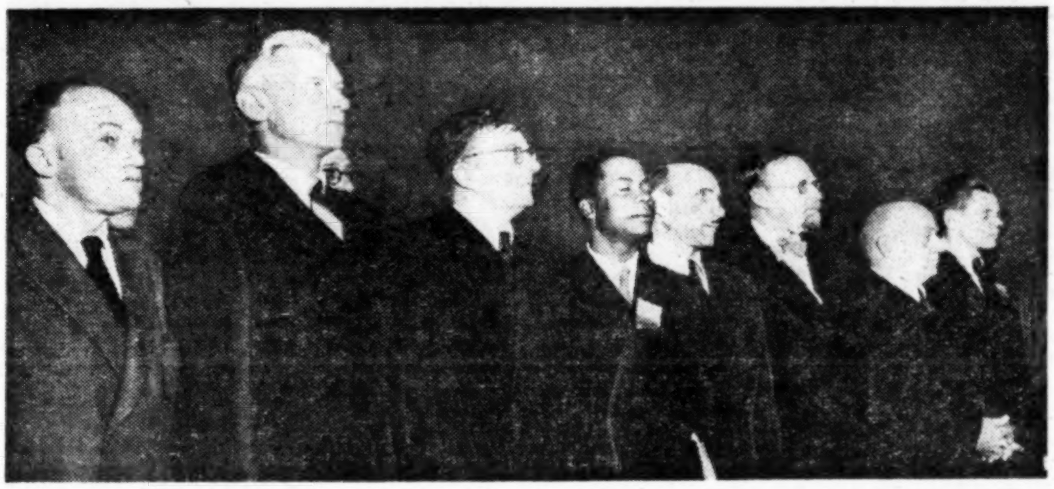
- And out of the wilderness came fur trappers with picket signs. They banded together to picket a New Orleans fur dealer who, they said, had unfairly allotted the bayous.



Fred Wright

"Alphabet soup, Barkins . . . and have 'UE's' removed . . ."

Guardian reports on the Peace Conference panels



Taking the audience's applause: Jiri Hronek (Czechoslovakia), A. A. Fadeyev (U.S.S.R.), Dmitri Shostakovich (U.S.S.R.), Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe (Northern Ireland), and Soviet delegates S. A. Gerasimov, A. I. Oparin, M. E. Chiaurely and I. D. Rujansky.

FINE ARTS

Idiots are prowling the TNT dumps

PHILIP EVERGOOD, artist, Aaron Copland, composer, Olin Downes, critic, Prof. Ladislav Stoll, dean of Czechoslovakia's Academy of Political and Social Science, Clifford Odets, playwright, Kasimir Baranovich, Yugoslav musician, and Dmitri Shostakovich all emphasized at the Fine Arts panel that art by its very nature is affirmative. The artist must take sides with the people and oppose every force that degrades man.

"Idiots are again prowling the dynamite dumps of the world," said Odets, "with lighted matches in their grasping hands." But, he went on, "all over the world today man is ready to spew out the moral imbecile who talks guns and ethics when he asks for bread and secure, noble life."

"I cannot blame the Soviet Union because an apocalyptic beast is running loose in our world today," he said. "As an American, the moral values of my world are in question, not Russia's."

FAITH IN MAN. Dmitri Shostakovich delivered a major address in which he analyzed the "irreconcilable struggle" between realism and formalism in the arts. Realism, he said, develops "from the harmonious, truthful and optimistic concept of the world"; it "enriches humanity with its great spiritual values." Formalism is "lacking in love of the people" and "bred by a pathologically dislocated and pessimistic concept of life, lack of faith in man's power and ideals."

Recent Soviet discussions of music, participated in by "every stratum of the Soviet population," had as their aim the development of works "which must be permeated with great ideas and great passions, which must convey . . . tragic suspense as well as deep optimism; and must reaffirm the beauty and dignity of man."

He called for world friendship of progressive cultural workers. "Together we are invincible," he declared. "We will be able to fulfill our duties as citizens, and we will arouse the conscience of the people against war. . . . We must compel the warmongers to retreat and we must disarm them. The people will never follow them."

SPY MANIA. Aaron Copland, referring to a recent State Department assertion that the U.S.S.R. has rebuffed efforts to foster closer cultural ties, recalled that only a few years ago two Ukrainian singers were sent here on a good will tour. They were told on arrival that they would have to register as agents of a foreign power, so they went home. It is understandable that the U.S.S.R. doesn't want to send artists here to be treated like undercover spies.

Kasimir Baranovic, director of the Belgrade Opera, described the swift development of art in Yugoslavia as a result of the government's efforts to promote a peoples' culture.

Arthur Miller, author of "Death of a Salesman", served as chairman. The panel was crowded to overflowing by 1,000 delegates.

—**Lawrence Emery**

HARLOW SHAPLEY
He won the hearts of all

WRITING, PUBLISHING

'Free in that vast kingdom of the spirit'

SOVIET novelist Fadeyev stood up firmly in the Writing and Publishing panel to "embarrassing" questions about Soviet culture from novelist Mary McCarthy, Prof. George S. Counts and Dwight MacDonald, editor of **Politics.**

Though not acquainted with all the writers who (the hecklers inferred) have been "liquidated" or jailed, Fadeyev said that one of them, Pasternak, is a neighbor of his in the country and is now busy translating Shakespeare. The latest novel by another, Zoschenko, appeared a year ago.

Fadeyev and Shostakovich thought the hecklers should not worry so much about Soviet criticism of artists. They themselves found the criticism helpful because, unlike American criticism, it came from people of the same basic viewpoint as the artists criticized.

SUBVERSIVE NATURE. American and African historian W. E. B. DuBois made a moving plea for more thinking through about the nature of freedom. "We cannot," he reminded delegates, "abolish gravitation because we do not like it; and the law of atomic weights will ever defy Congress." There are, unfortunately, margins of compulsion everywhere: "we stand here today compelled to remain prisoners of our bellies to an extent which disgraces our science and history."

T. O. THACKREY
Publisher was a keynoter

The great barriers holding us back now are the "organized insanity" of war and the habit of refusing to think or listen to those who think. Nevertheless "we make renewed demand for freedom in that vast kingdom of the human spirit where freedom has ever had the right to dwell."

Agnes Smedley (whom Harlow Shapley called "the woman the Army charged and then retreated from") gave a brilliant report on the immoral and futile American policy in the Far East, where the masses take the Four Freedoms seriously "even if some of the authors of them did not."

Soviet novelist-scenarist P. A. Pavlenko said his "plan of aggression" was to plant 20 citrus trees in Yalta, as every citizen there has pledged to do. He spoke scornfully of playwright Eugene O'Neill's statement that we have been able to make nothing out of the human race and we should give the ants a chance. "Are we all to blame," he asked, "if civilization was not able to make anything out of Eugene O'Neill?"

RESOLUTIONS PREFERRED. Novelist Norman Mailer said there was no longer much difference between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—both are moving toward state capitalism. There could be no peace until we had "a decent, equitable socialism," and it could not be attained by resolutions, only by revolution. Few, if any, of the delegates seemed either ready or willing to revolt.

Prof. F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard called for "repossession" in America of the great tradition of Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman and Melville: internationalism, dignity of the individual, the heroic possibilities of the common man.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

MASS MEDIA

Hollywood is like the Ruhr

FREEDOM of expression and responsibility — they're two sides of the same coin.

That was the theme threading through the speeches at the Mass Communications panel attended by more than 300 persons wedged into the Waldorf's Wedgwood Room. There were 10 speakers and all agreed that the press, films, radio and theatre were the most powerful weapons for peace—but were not being used for peace in the U. S.

I. F. Stone, columnist of the **New York Post Home News,** said the government, in its effort to make peace seem unpalatable, had the hearty cooperation of the American press.

PRECISION INSTRUMENTS. "War, hate, fear are being drummed home daily in the headlines,' he said, "and aviation salesmen peddle their wares by proclaiming how many cities in the Soviet Union can be bombed by their new model bombers. . . . War scares and red scares have become the principal instruments of a bankrupt statesmanship."

Stone also criticised the Soviet Union for "making it as difficult as possible even for friendly reporters to enter."

John Howard Lawson, distinguished film writer and theater theoretician and one of the "Hollywood 10" cited for contempt by the House Un-American Activities Committee, declared there was a decline in the American film "as one of the economic and moral consequences of the drive toward war."

AMERICAN PRESENT. "Hollywood, like the Ruhr, is a focal point of international tension. Its fate, like the fate of the Ruhr, will not be determined solely by the generals and the bankers. The people of the world are not disinterested spectators. . . . We would like to make pictures that tell the truth about the American past and vital present. Can such pictures be made? The decision will be made by you, the audience, the people."

Alexander Vucho of Yugoslavia, poet and director of Yugoslavia's film production, declared that the mass communications media in his country were flourishing because they were part of Yugoslavia's plan to build a new life for the people. In his country, said S. A. Gerasimov, Soviet writer, producer and director, "a new man has been born for whom labor is not in any way servile humiliation, but is a matter of the creative application of his abilities."

Others who spoke at the panel were:

Arthur Gaeth, radio commentator; Victor Bernstein, former **PM** and **New York Star** writer; M. Chiaurely, Soviet film director; Myrta Aguirre, journalist and author, vice president of the Federation of Democratic Women of Cuba; Pawel Hoffman, Polish writer, author of the literary magazine, **The Forge**; Jiri Hronek of Czechoslovakia (see p. 1).

—**James Aronson**

NATURAL SCIENCE

Wallace bid to talk corn with Lysenko

THE discussions in the Natural Science panel showed that scientists all over the world, in the interests of their own work, are concerned about politics and peace.

J. D. Bernal, the famous English physicist, whose report was read in his absence, exploded the myth that war aids science. The rate of scientific progress during World Wars I and II was much slower than before and after these wars, in spite of appearances, propaganda and the enormous amounts of money spent.

The American bacteriologist, Theodor Rosebury, who worked on biological warfare developments in the last war, scouted the twin ideas that germ war weapons are not practical and deadly and that they would not be used in another conflict.

WALLACE ON LYSENKO. A. I. Oparin, goateed, hearty elder of Russian science, said that Soviet scientists without exception have taken on the job of popularizing science. They also have enlisted the aid of amateurs, farmers and workers, in working out many problems.

The controversial Lysenko theories on the inheritance by plants and animals of acquired characteristics received an openminded and friendly mention from one of America's leading practical plant and

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Panels

Continued from Page 9

animal breeders, Henry A. Wallace. Though doubting that the new approach would greatly improve the yielding power of cereals already developed in the U.S., Wallace said he wanted to cooperate directly with Lysenko on experiments to improve strains of corn.

Wallace proposed that President Truman's plan to aid backward areas of the world should be put into practice through the UN, and that specialists of America, Russia and all other countries take on the job of raising the production and living standards of the Chinese people.

STILL SOLID. The only representative from Asia, Dr. D. D. Kosambi, Indian mathematician, reminded the conference that hunger is also a terrible weapon of mass destruction. America is involved in its deliberate use at this moment, in Asia and against a large part of the world's people.

When the meeting was opened for questions, Prof. Oparin good-humoredly replied to some hecklers that a number of "liquidated" scientists mentioned were known to him personally and were still in a free, active and solid state.

An anxious delegate, pointing out that biological warfare programs study all phases of all diseases, expressed concern about such knowledge becoming "classified" military secrets. Since a cure of a disease is a defense against it, he wanted to know whether a cure for polio, for example, might not be witheld. There was no comment from the platform.

—Robert Joyce

PUBLIC HEALTH

Not a kind word for the AMA

THE American Medical Assn.'s campaign against national health insurance proposals came in for constructive lambasting at the Physical and Mental Health panel.

Dr. Allan M. Butler, pediatrics professor at Harvard and chief of the children's medical service at Massachusetts General Hospital, told delegates that in the last year before the war Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland had lower infant mortality rates than the U.S.

"Our present pattern of medical service is so inefficient and uneconomical as to deserve the term 'obsolete'," he said.

BISMARCK STARTED IT. A former German doctor, speaking from the floor, referred to the success of the German health insurance program before World War I—originated by "that noted subversive, Bismarck." He quoted the **New York Times** on one of the factors of Churchill's defeat in England: his lack of support of the national health program which the people wanted.

The Lysenko controversy came up in a verbal exchange between Dr. Ernst Boas (chairman of the Physicians Forum), who said that science had become the servant of the state in the U.S.S.R., and a Czech delegate who quoted Engels' contention that science in a socialist state must be geared to the practical good of all.

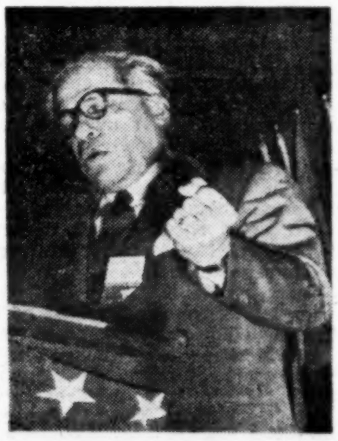
Dr. Boas pointed out that "we have the knowledge to stamp out TB and VD in one generation", but only in an atmosphere of peace and intellectual freedom could progress be made.

THE HELL OF FEAR. This was paricularly true in the field of mental health, said Dr. Edward Young, chairman of the Committee of Physicians for Improvement of Medical Care, and Dr. Julius Schreiber, psychiatrist and former director of the National Institute of Social Relations.

"Mental health," said Dr. Schreiber, "means that an individual has self-reliance and self-respect and also has learned to respect others.... But there is general hell and misery and neither man nor society benefits from it." The psychiatrist cannot shrug off problems of housing, economic security, fear of war, general fear of the future, prejudice and discrimination. "Mental health and functioning democracy are interdependent."

Said Dr. Joseph Wortis of Bellevue Hospital: "People need social security and they get war propaganda." It was recommended that NCASP set up a psychiatrists' group to examine the responsibility of "examining the war fear, the repressive hysteria, and identifying this as illness."

—Kathleen Sproul



DOMINGO F. VILLAMIL
He had the Garden cheering

'I am a Catholic'

From the speech at Madison Sq. Garden by Cuban delegate Domingo F. Villamil, former Director General of the Cuban Dept. of Justice and Secretary of the St. Thomas Aquinas Academy of Social Sciences, Havana:

"I am not a Marxist. I am a Roman Catholic; a Christian Roman Catholic, not one of those whose actions have betrayed their principles.

"The moral law is essential to the maintenance of peace, and we will continue to seek its restoration in the hearts of men. We reiterate our confidence in man, who is created in the image of God.

"All the people of the world want peace. It is insanity to ignore this truth. Whatever be their reasons or pretexts, regardless of their high positions in Church and State, we denounce to the world the criminals and enemies of God and mankind who are encircling the Soviet Union and hatching a third World War. . . . For God's sake, friends, let us put the monster in shackles."

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC

Cold war: family pays $13 a week

THE Social and Economic Science panel heard moderator Colston E. Warne, Professor of Economics at Amherst College, report that the U. S. would spend over $23,000,000,000 on the cold war this year. It costs the average family of four $13 a week.

Grace F. Marcus, social worker of the University of Pittsburgh, said that one out of every 17 people in the U. S., "caught in a web of irrational fear," suffers from some form of mental illness. The yearly cost of hospitalizing such people (300,000 were committed to mental hospitals in 1946) is nearly $500,000,000.

WANTED: SOCIALISM. What could be done to stop this fear? Economist Paul M. Sweezy, former faculty member at Harvard, said that if the Marshall Plan policy were really calculated to create an independent western Europe it should be supported. But honest, objective studies of the Plan admitted there wasn't the slightest prospect that it would do so.

"When the Marshall Plan runs out," he went on, "the crisis of western Europe will be no nearer solution than it was two years ago. . . . The American people may wake up from their propaganda-created nightmare of Soviet aggression and Communist plots to discover that the real world is one in which those nations and peoples who manage their affairs in their own interests go forward in spite of all obstacles, while those who put their trust in the gods of free enterprise find themselves hopelessly stuck in the mire of economic insecurity and political reaction."

HUNGER AND RACISM. World understanding starts with the belly. David M. Lubbock, one of the heads of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, quoted Sir John Orr, former Director General of FAO: "Hunger knows no national boundaries. . . If we can't agree about food internationally, we can't agree about anything."

Dr. Gene Weltfish of the Dept. of Anthropology, Columbia University, made a documented survey of Africa, India, the Canal Zone and the U.S. showing that racism and relations with the colonial peoples are at the root of the problem. She quoted from Kumar Goshal's book, **People of India:** "Racism is more than a verbal doctrine; it is a non-employer and a killer."

Dr. Weltfish showed that the U.S. is now heavily involved in conditions which condemn hundreds of millions to mass starvation. There was little likelihood that this would change as long as jimcrow imposed conditions in our own country, under which 39 white and only 20 colored citizens have a life expectancy of 75.

—Helen Scott

The pleasure was mutual and great. Dr. D. D. Kosambi (l.) of India shakes hands with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (r.) as R. G. Armattoe and Dr. Harlow Shapley look on.

EDUCATION

Conformity won't save the teachers

AT the Education panel Rose Russell, chairman of the National Teachers Division, United Public Workers (CIO), pleaded for the saving of schoolchildren, whose teachers are in danger of a mass purge, "from the frenetic fringe walking around this building." She referred to the chanting of pickets heard from below.

Referring to 35 repressive legislation proposals now before state legislatures, John J. De Boer, professor of education at the University of Illinois, said: "Teachers must know that conformity now will not save them. As the climate of intolerance intensifies, even silence will not be acceptable."

DO THEY KNOW IT? Numerous last-minute substitutions in panel speakers made delegates wonder how many teachers had grasped the truth spoken by De Boer.

Herbert J. Davis, president of Smith College, who was to have presided, was replaced by Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor emeritus of New York University. Hayward Kenlston, Dean of the School of Liberal Arts at the University of Michigan, didn't show up to speak on "Implementing Academic Freedom." Filling breaches were professors Herbert J. Phillips, Joseph Butterworth and Ralph Gundlach, recently dismissed from the University of Washington faculty for political nonconformism.

"Not only war harms culture and the development of science," said sociology professor Stanislaw Ossowski of the University of Warsaw. "A state of constant danger of war is no less detrimental. Thought cannot be free in suspended war."

CRUSOES ARE OUT. Czech professor Jan Boor told how peace is being implemented in his country. "The aim of all education in Czechoslovakia," he said, "is to develop a new kind of human being . . . the bearer of the socialist society being built in our country."

In such a society there could be "no Robinson Crusoes" — there must be mutual interdependence between society and the individual; the rights to free education, to work and rest, and to good health were "not something to be bought or sold, nor the object of philanthropy or charity. . . . Planning of social conditions limits commercial competition, but it

Continued on Page 10

The Resolutions

A strengthened United Nations, international cooperation of all peace movements, and a continuation of peace efforts in this country were stated as the major aims of the conference in a resolution adopted by the plenary session.

Another resolution affirmed the conference's determination "to maintain the Bill of Rights as a charter of cultural freedom."

Following the conference a permanent action committee, including as members the 560 sponsors of the conference, was named to carry out the aims of the resolutions. The committee adopted as an immediate project the collection of millions of signatures to a "rollcall for world peace" to be presented to President Truman on Memorial Day, May 30.

The committee also planned to appoint delegations to present conference resolutions to the President, the Secretary of State, Congress and the U.S. delegation to the UN. A nationwide campaign to bring the results of the conference to every part of the country will be organized.

OPEN CHANNELS. The major resolution asserted that the basic aim of the conference had been achieved: "We wish to open and keep open the channels of communication among the peaceminded peoples of all lands and in particular between our country and the Soviet Union. It was to this purpose that the conference was called. We have succeeded in demonstrating that channels can be kept open."

RIGHT TO THINK. The resolution on cultural freedom cited the "atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria that poisons the wells of reason" and said: "We are resolved to give the full measure of our energy and devotion to defend the right to speak and think and communicate."

" . . . We pledge whatever skill or talent we may possess, we pledge the strength of [illegible] hearts and minds, to fulfill [illegible] responsibility, to defend the true interests of the American people, to unite for peace."

Fadeyev and Schuman

Not 'Who is to blame?' but 'What can we do?'

THE main ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria was crowded to the doors; chairs were set up in the corridors; standees lined the walls of the galleries. This was the third day of an exciting conference; here the discussions and the debate would be steered to culmination in a program; here differences would be resolved into basic agreement.

The differences were there. So was the agreement.

Both were expressed in an exchange between Alexander A. Fadeyev, Secretary-General of the Secretariat of the Union of Soviet Writers and spokesman for the Soviet delegation, and Frederick L. Schuman, Professor of Political Science at Williams College.

COMMON MADNESS? Fadeyev had spoken first. His theme was stated in his opening sentence: "The peoples of the Soviet Union stand for peace."

Prof. Schuman had this theme: "We now find ourselves, East and West, suffering from the symptoms of the self-same madness." Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are taking the easy road of witch-hunting at home and crusades against vice abroad, instead of the hard and sane road of examining their consciences and building "substantive democracy."

While the professor spoke, Fadeyev made hasty notes. He asked, and was granted, permission to reply to Schuman's speech. "I must say," he began, "that I found certain aspects of it astonishing for me.

NO SOVIET WARMONGERS. "Professor Schuman indicated that in his opinion there are elements in the Soviet Union which are to some extent responsible for the menace to the peace, just as he feels there are elements in the United States also responsible. I am a guest in your country, but I know that you would want me to speak frankly on this matter. Professor Schuman is mistaken. There are no elements in our country which desire war against the United States or any other country."

Fadeyev cited the book by Sayers and Kahn, **The Great Conspiracy Against Russia,** and said it "quite clearly showed that since the time of our revolution of 1917, there have been elements in all other countries conspiring to destroy the Soviet Union.

" . . . As I recall, Prof Schuman praised this book very highly and said that it exposed the elements that were plotting World War III. And this book stated most emphatically that these elements were not in our country and that some of these elements were in the U.S.A."

A. A. FADEYEV
He spoke frankly

STUPID FEARS, VAIN HOPES. While Fadeyev spoke, the professor made notes. Later he was given the floor again. "I agree completely with Mr. Fadeyev," he said, "that there are no elements in the U.S.S.R. desiring war. I also agree with his statement that there some elements in the United States desirous of war with Russia."

What he had meant, he said, was that "many in the U.S.S.R. fear American capitalism and hope it will be destroyed." Similarly "many in the United States fear Russian socialism and hope it will be destroyed."

If those twin sets of fears and hopes erupt into a war, he warned, all civilization will be destroyed. Therefore, the two countries "can and must co-exist in peace."

Fadeyev has emphasized the need for peaceful co-existence in another way: "The important thing for us to understand—that is for the American and Soviet people who both want peace—is that those elements in the United States which would like to see another war against Russia are not the enemies only of the Soviet people; they are also, of course, the enemies of the American people, who like ourselves, do not want war." (Powerful applause)

OLD FRIENDS. In his original speech Fadeyev had gone back through history to show the long tradition of friendship between the two nations, which began when Russia was a feudal state "during the time of the struggle of the United States for its independence. . . . The differences in political structure did not hinder these countries in the establishment of neighborly relations. . . . Since that time, as far as the relations between the U.S.A. and the old Russia are concerned, they have remained unalterably friendly, and all the contradictions between them, unavoidable in the history of diplomatic relations between countries, have been consistently settled in a peaceful manner."

Citing American history to prove his point, he went on: "It would indeed be strange in our days . . . not to find a common language . . . especially since Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, continuing the tradition of friendship begun a century ago, and welded together with the blood of Soviet and American soldiers in the last war, the leaders of our peoples and states solved so well all the major international contradictions, which some people are now trying to present as insoluble."

REVIVING HATE. Russian appreciation of American culture was presented in the form of impressive statistics: in the Soviet Union 2,245 works of American fiction have been published in an overall circulation of nearly 40,000,000 copies.

Prof. Schuman in his speech also cited some history and recalled the time 30 years ago "when a coalition of 14 governments, led by Winston Churchill, was waging an undeclared war against the new Soviet state and when American troops on Russian soil were killing Russians and being killed by Russians.

"The bitter memory of those tragic days was almost effaced only yesterday by a new comradeship in arms and a joint victory over a common foe. But today our ears are filled with the noise of 'ancestral voices prophesying war.' We are met again in a time of fear and hate and threatened violence, as the menace of World War III casts its shadow over all our hopes and all our lives."

CO-OPERATE OR DIE. That war, Schuman emphasized again and again, will see the total defeat of all civilization.

"The fruits of victory in such a combat," he said, "will be universal fascism. The end-result will be the final triumph of the Revolution of Nihilism."

World peace, he said, must come through a "cessation on both sides of provocations, threats and challenges." He projected then a step by step attainment of "a limited but effective world federal government with powers adequate to keep the peace by safeguarding the common defense and the general welfare, and with no subjection of each to all or one to another in a world community of inescapable and fruitful diversity."

Olaf Stapledon, the one British delegate who broke through the U. S. Iron Curtain, told this story in Madison Sq. Garden:

The taxi driver who drove him to the boat in England said to him: "You tell those Yanks to stop tryin' to put it across over us."

The New York taxi driver who drove him from the boat said: "Y'know, we gotta have a war — and mighty soon."

Commented Stapledon: "You could never find anyone in my country to say a thing like that. You here are losing your heads. . . . When you have caught us up—and you've got about 50 years to go — you will be socialists too."

Panels

Continued from Page 10

stimulates mental competition."

An Amherst professor proposed campus committees of academic freedom to spotlight injustices, provide exchange of information and a rallying point. **—Kathleen Sproul**

PLANNING

You won't disturb your own acorn

"IF YOU plant an acorn or build a dam you are thinking of a peaceful life for generations and will not wantonly disturb it."

In those words Britain's J. D. Bernal expressed simply the meeting of widely differing political minds at the Planning and Building panel, attended by scores of architects and technicians (but not by Bernal).

The world, said Serge Chermayeff of the Chicago Institute of Design, needs planning for development on a vast scale, and the means and know-how are there. With history's highest living standard, the U.S. alone lacks 10,000,000 dwellings of decent standard. Throughout the world probably hundreds of millions are needed.

PEACE BY BUILDING. Bernal pointed out that an international organization—the UN's European Economic Council—is already planning in the right way and being increasingly effective.

Harlow Shapley and Herman Herrey had prepared, and the panel adopted as its basis for action, an exhaustive global planning report "for peace through worldwide general employment for generations to come." Pres. Truman's "bold new plan" for developing "backward areas" is fallacious, the report pointed out, because there must be nothing less than a general "upsurge of world economy." (Truman-style planning, said Bernal, was "not peace but war planning . . . it can only intensify existing friction.")

The "bold new plan" must be widened into an International Resources Development Agency working through UN, which must be non-political, must set up regional TVA-model developments and must transfer them more and more into the hands of local populations. If the task is a staggering one, it is "small indeed compared with the tasks and sacrifices with which a third world war would confront us."

PLANNING FOR WHOM? Sociologist Mary van Kleeck said that "for whom we plan is the all important question. It is a problem of world cartelization versus socialism. . . . The people must control the resources."

Little interest was shown in extreme political views which might lead away from the central theme. **—Adele Kravitz**

RELIGION

Why haven't the churches halted war?

VARIOUS religions and philosophies gave the Religion and Ethics panel session a vitality and universalism seldom seen in the church. Two hundred delegates heard a competent panel whose chairman was the Rev. Dr. John Howland Lathrop, pastor of the Unitarian Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn.

BISHOP A. W. MOULTON
"Bring Churches into the open"

Speakers included Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of **The Churchman** (Episcopalian); the Rt. Rev. Arthur W Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah, retired; the Rt. Rev. S. Harrington Littell, Fifth Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Honolulu, retired; Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Congregation Rodeph Sholom, New York; William Olaf Stapledon, British philosopher and psychologist.

There were such questions as, "Why haven't the churches stopped war?"; "Wouldn't it be religious persecution if we were to go to war against a 'Godless' people?"; "What is religion?"; and "Has the Christion religion a monopoly on good will?"

LOOSE CONNECTIONS. The answers were equally pointed. Said Bishop Moulton, "There is a loose connection between belief and action; something is wrong with our transformers. Thank God for the crisis. It is creative. It will bring the Church out into the open . . . The people will listen when the Church shakes herself free from the shackles of unsavory politics and self-interest and bigotry. . . ."

Bishop Littell said, "A holy war (God save the mark!)—there is no such thing."

Rabbi Newman's reply to the Roman Catholic pickets was, "The only thing red about this conference is the light signalling speakers to stop."

It was Dr. Stapledon's view "that liberty should include freedom from economic exploitation; and also that, in a society that is unstable or in grave danger, liberty must inevitably seem less important than social discipline . . . A society which lacks a high degree of civil and intellectual liberty cannot be healthy . . . If we are to live and let live we must tolerate our differences."

RELIGION IN ACTION. Asserting that 'peace' has become a subversive word, Dr. Shipler said:

"The word 'peace' has rung in the heart of both Judaism and Christianity down the centuries . . . We are told on all sides that the question of war or peace rests in the hands of the United States. If this is true, civilization can be saved by the religious groups of this country."

A resolution adopted by the session said: "With the conviction that the peoples in every nation are united in their abhorrence of war and their passionate desire for peace, we would summon the religious peoples in all nations to reaffirm their common gospel of universal brotherhood . . . We affirm our belief that negotiations must be maintained whatever the obstacles, and that a bridge between peace-loving peoples must be built by the power of religious and moral ideals."

—Edna Joh

Look back 18 years and ask yourself:

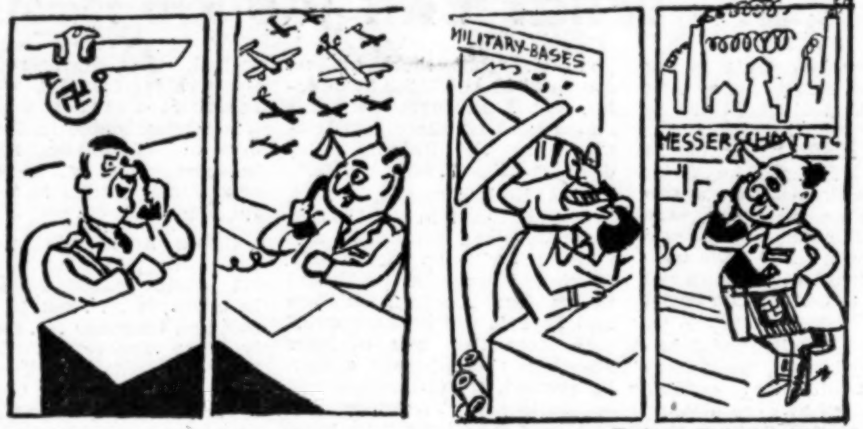
Do you remember Spain?

By Alvah Bessie

IT was 11 years ago this month, but not a sense-impression is lost.

After a week in "rest" period—on the bare side of a mountain with no shelter, no clothes, few arms, little food—the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of American volunteers to defend the Spanish Republic went into action again. It rained all day and was cold all night. We were out-gunned and out-manned and out-maneuvered, and before we knew it we were inside a fascist pocket. The job was to cut our way out and reform the lines. This was happening all the time.

That was when we lost Bob Merriman and Dave Doran and many, many others. Some of us got out from behind the fascist lines, but lots didn't. The preponderance of German and Italian materiel was making itself felt and the Franco forces cut through to the sea at Tortosa, isolating the north of Spain from the south. We felt it was all up.



Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw

GENERAL FRANCO'S CAREER

1936
HITLER: "Dear General, I am sending you some German automobiles. . . ."

1949
TRUMAN: "Dear General, I am sending you a German automobile factory. . . ."

THE LAST CHAPTER. Actually it wasn't up for another year. Before it finally happened and Spain was drowned in the blood of its people, there was the whole summer of 1938 to come, and the magnificently planned and brilliantly executed offensive across the Ebro.

That was the last big action in which the International Brigades were involved. On a front 150 kilometers in length, we crossed the tawny river and drove inland. We moved all the way to the Gandesa-Corbera-Batea line before they could bring up their stuff from the south and stop us.

Then we could see what stuff they had. Then began the saturation bombing with whole fleets of ships, the massed artillery. The fighting went on for two months in the Sierra Pandolls and the Sierra Caballs.

When we finally withdrew back across the river the operation had been successful. And the patient died less than six months later.

DO you remember Spain? Do you remember what it meant to us and to the world?

Do you remember the ferment that rose everywhere—the endless meetings, the floods of money, medicine and food and clothing that the people sent? The delegations and the protests and the telegrams, the demonstrations, the picketing, the outcries?

Spain was perhaps the clearest issue of our time. Do you remember how the papers shouted "Red" at the top of their lungs—and how, whenever a newsreel showed the Loyalists in action, every audience drowned the soundtrack with its applause? The people knew what Spain was all about. They almost won it for us; but not quite.

HOW MANY MUST DIE? "Red"—the color of human blood, as well as a color displayed on many flags.

The red scare lost Spain for the world and guaranteed World War II. Does anyone doubt it now? It lost all of Europe for us before a shot was fired in that war. It is going to lose the world for us unless we do better this time than we did during Spain.

If men and women can be called traitors for fighting for peace, and we do nothing to smash so great a lie, we can forget the United States of America, as so many have already forgotten Spain. If men and women can go to jail for administering relief to Spanish refugees, there will have to be European societies to administer relief to American refugees.

Many of us learned our Spanish lessons well. How well have the rest of us learned our German lessons, our Italian lessons, our Japanese lessons? We have had 11 years and 30,000,000 dead, since Spain, in which to learn.

DOLLARS WILL LOSE. There was a slogan: MADRID WILL BE THE TOMB OF FASCISM! There are over 1,000 veterans of the Lincoln Battalion who hope to live long enough to see that slogan come to life.

And it can and will—when we cut off the sustenance from American banks that alone maintains the power of Franco. When we demonstrate to Americans—as well as it has been revealed to Europeans—the meaning and the intention of the red scare. They know; they understand; they remember Spain and they had from 12 to 22 years of fascism to help them remember. And there is not enough money in American banks to buy them, or enough ammunition in American arsenals to kill them all.

We will have a free Spain when we have a free world. We will have a free world only when we have a free Spain.

ALVAH BESSIE, screenwriter, veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, is the author of a stirring book on the Spanish civil war, "Men in Battle." One of the "Hollywood 10," he is also a veteran of the J. Parnell Thomas wars.

This is free Spain week

"I condemn you all to death because I have been ordered to do so from Madrid," said the Military Tribunal judge in Barcelona, explaining the sentences on four young Spanish Republicans who were shot on Feb. 17.

In Barcelona four more now await death for resisting fascism. From Ocana, Toledo, condemned students smuggled a letter to the International Union of Students in Prague: "We are constantly tortured by our warders; we are expecting to die a slow death, or we shall lose our lives by a fascist tribunal, if you do not come to our aid very quickly."

From April 4 to 14 (the 18th anniversary of the foundation of the Spanish Republic), demonstrations throughout the world will protest plans to bring Franco Spain into the UN. Opening U.S. demonstration is at Manhattan Center, New York, on Monday evening, April 4. On April 14, more than 3,000,000 students in 54 countries will participate in an International Day of Solidarity for anti-fascist students.

U.S. money alone keeps Franco on his throne

By Charles Duff

LONDON

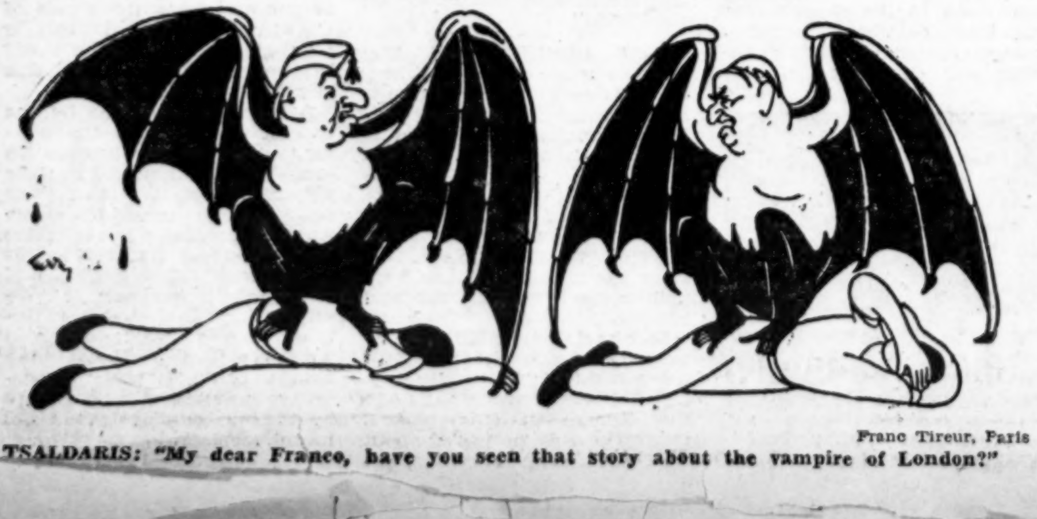
IF Franco does not get $1,000,000,000 this year, an economic and financial collapse in Spain is not merely possible but almost certain.

He wants $250,000,000 immediately, and the promise of the remainder. The U.S. is his only hope, and only one thing prevents him from getting the money: fear of U.S. public opinion and fear of world opinion if Truman were to give it to him.

Any help rendered must be by private banks, and for this official approval has been given. The Chase National Bank has already loaned Franco the nominal sum of $25,000,000 just to test home and world opinion. If there are no vigorous reactions to that, Franco will next be given (loaned) $100,000,000, with more to follow. The money will come from private banks as private loans.

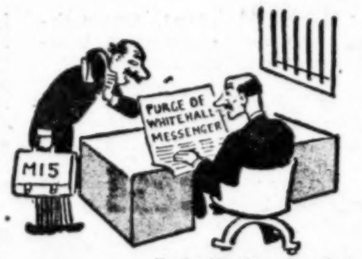
UP TO THE PEOPLE. The feeling in Spain has changed greatly in recent months. A year ago there was despair. Not so now. There is anger, and anger in Spain generally precedes action.

The anti-Franco opposition forces all realize that they have little or nothing to hope for from Britain and the U.S. That was what caused the despair of a year ago. Now they realize that they must rely on themselves, and in all parts of Spain recently there have been open demonstrations, with violence in Barcelona, round-ups of Republicans and increased repression.



Franc Tireur, Paris

TSALDARIS: "My dear Franco, have you seen that story about the vampire of London?"



Daily Worker, London

"I found he'd been in the Attlee Battalion in Spain, Mr. Attlee, so I knew he was a Red."

That the regime is in fear of the Opposition forces can be judged from Franco's official radio. For the first time that radio has taken to broadcasting detailed replies to the broadcasts of the opposition radio **Espana Indipendiente.**

BOILING UP. Everywhere there is hunger, sullenness and openly expressed rage. In Barcelona a month ago, police and military had to throw a cordon round a whole district that looked like flaming up into open rebellion. Both people and regime know that it is some such incident which will touch off the latent explosive powers of the people.

After a longish period of quiescence, due largely to the terrible repression, the clandestine press has bloomed into renewed activity, and about 50 underground sheets and as many clandestine radio transmitters are now busy. The increasing cost of living, the shortages, the appalling black market and corruption, all play into the hands of the opposition.

Franco has more reason to feel unsafe on this anniversary of his so-called victory (in which the people have never acquiesced) than at any moment since he came to power.

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